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The Shape of Things

VICE-PRESIDENT HENRY WALLACE, IN HIS radio address on the occasion of Woodrow Wilson's birthday, again showed that he has a broader view of post-war problems and the way to solve them than any other ranking statesman of the United Nations. Since his great speech last summer on the century of the common man, isolationists, anti-New Dealers, and business reactionaries have ganged up to distort his proposals and to jeer at him as a soft-headed visionary. Now he has made a trenchant reply exposing these critics as small-minded men whose lack of vision after the last war ruined Wilson's efforts to organize an international society and in the economic field promoted anarchy abroad and depression at home. Mr. Wallace is an idealist, but his idealism is based on common sense. He realizes that after the war our surplus productive capacity will be greatly enhanced and that we shall head straight for a new unemployment crisis if we do not use that surplus to raise the standards of living of other nations. But this implies a willingness to let down our barriers against foreign goods instead of exchanging the fruits of our labor first for doubtful securities and second for unconsumable gold. These were the results of G. O. P. *Realpolitik* in the twenties, and the aftermath has underlined the message of the Scriptures: "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

*

HITLER IS DISCOVERING THAT THE RED Army which he has so often "annihilated" has as many lives as a cat and as many arms as an octopus. Those arms are now thrusting powerfully in various directions through the German winter lines, probing the soft spots and enveloping and isolating strongly held places. Soviet strategy appears to be to avoid at the present time direct assaults on the main Nazi garrisons and to try to cut their communications. The probable objective is to break the nerve of the German High Command, forcing abandonment of carefully prepared positions and a retreat through the snow. The Russian commanders have not forgotten the débâcle of Napoleon's army. Neither, it appears, have the Germans; but if the two Soviet columns now converging on Rostov make a junction, Hitler may have no alternative to an attempt to extricate his forces from the Stalingrad pocket and the recesses of the Caucasus. A sig-

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nificant feature of the Russian offensive is the large number of prisoners it is yielding. This suggests that German morale is waning.

*

A NEW ERA IN PUBLIC RELATIONS ON THE home front was, we hope, inaugurated by Secretary Wickard and Elmer Davis in their exceptionally able explanations of why a great extension of food rationing is necessary. Housewives finding bare shelves at the stores have become convinced that limited but secure supplies of essentials are better than no supplies at all, but lacking authoritative information about why shortages have developed, they have become a prey to distorted tales and false rumors. It was high time that discontent thus engendered was dispelled by a full explanation of the facts. We cannot doubt that there will be a wide response to Mr. Wickard's appeal for public cooperation, provided that the educational process now started is continued. Rationing in a country like this cannot be enforced by police measures; it can only succeed if the vast majority of consumers and storekeepers accept it as fair and necessary. Given the good-will and cooperation of 90 per cent of the people, the authorities can be assured of public approval in dealing sternly with a minority of chiselers and hoarders. We imagine considerations of this kind influenced Mr. Wickard in his bold decision to announce the rationing of canned goods well in advance in spite of the risk that a rush on the stores might follow. We believe that the majority of consumers, assured that a high standard of nutrition will be maintained and that supplies will be fairly divided, will justify the risk by refraining from abnormal purchases in the next few weeks.

*

THE SUCCESS OF THE FOOD RATIONING program will depend largely on the flexibility with which it is administered. There is perhaps no field in which people's tastes and habits differ more widely than in the consumption of canned fruits and vegetables. The range in the use of these foods is tremendous. There are undoubtedly many farm families who use no canned goods apart from those prepared at home, while at the other extreme there are doubtless families, in which the wife is employed, that depend almost exclusively on commercially canned products. Obviously some special provision should be made for working wives in a period when the government is attempting to induce some three or four million women to seek work in war industries. Some flexibility will be provided by a system of point rationing such as is now in preparation. But point rationing alone cannot cover the wide differences in the use of commercially prepared canned products. Special allotments should be made for areas in which there is a shortage of fresh fruits and vegetables, for working wives, and for any other groups in the population whose needs are manifestly greater than the average. To offset these extra allotments, it might be wise to curtail rations in areas where there is an abundance of fresh vegetables the year round, and in country districts where consumption of commercially canned foods is normally low.

*

THE NEED FOR STILL HIGHER TAXES ON upper and middle income groups as a safeguard against inflation is clearly demonstrated in the current Public Affairs pamphlet "How Can We Pay for the War?" This pamphlet, based on a study by the National Bureau of Economic Research, estimates the total consumer income for 1943 at $109 billion, but points out that owing to war-time restrictions only $61 billion worth of consumers' goods and services will be available for purchase. This leaves $48 billion in excess spending power which must be absorbed by taxes or war bonds if inflation is to be avoided. It is estimated that at least $15 billion of this amount must be taken by increased taxation, and it is suggested that an even greater increase in taxes would be desirable. An analysis of the distribution of the $48 billion of excess spending power among economic groups provides one of the most satisfactory guides to tax policy yet published. Taking into account rationing, shortages of goods, and other emergency factors, it is estimated that the group with incomes of less than $1,750 a year will have roughly $3 billion left; the $1,750-to-$10,000 group will have $31 billion; and the group above $10,000 about $14 billion. The corporation and excess-profits tax, the pamphlet shows, falls primarily on the upper income group, and thus might be still further increased, while a sales tax or increased pay-roll taxes under the Social Security Act would fall most heavily on the lowest and lower-middle income groups. We trust that Congress will study these estimates.

*

ADMIRERS OF SENATOR WHEELER IN THE days before there was an America First Committee have hoped in vain that he would recover his balance and return to a level of political decency. The Montana Senator has at last come up out of the silences, but it is only to put in a word for twenty-eight alleged seditionists, headed by George Sylvester Viereck, Gerald Winrod, Elizabeth Dilling, and William Dudley Pelley. Along with Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan, Wheeler denounces the round-up as an "inquisition." Special Assistant Attorney General William Power Maloney obtained the indictments from a grand jury which heard detailed evidence over a period of seventy-one days, and Attorney General Biddle has invited Wheeler to submit any "specific information" he may have concerning "improper conduct" in the procedure. Wheeler has failed to respond to the invitation. Instead, he and Hoffman are demanding a Congressional investi-

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gation of the Department of Justice. The move has the earmarks of desperation. The same signs are betrayed by Cissie Patterson's Washington *Times-Herald,* which suggests that the indictments were inspired by a privately financed "super defamation organization," meaning presumably the Anti-Defamation League. What fear drives Wheeler and Hoffman to such lengths? Is it the guilty knowledge that if these defendants are convicted, certain Congressmen will stand condemned for having placed the *Congressional Record* at the disposal of seditionists?

✶

THE PLAN FOR NATIONAL WAR SERVICE FOR civilian labor submitted by Grenville Clark, author of the original Selective Service Act, deserves careful consideration by Congress. It is a tough plan designed for a tough war. It is based on the assumption "that an obligation rests upon every person . . . to render such personal services in aid of the war effort as he or she may be deemed best fitted to perform." There must, Mr. Clark believes, be legal power to transfer and assign war workers wherever they are needed. Without that authority, even the most carefully prepared man-power program is bound to fail. In this we concur fully with Mr. Clark. The weakness in his plan lies in the failure to recognize that compulsion can be successful only if it has the support of the vast majority of the workers involved. Mr. Clark seems almost wholly unaware of the safeguards which are necessary to make a compulsory man-power plan acceptable to labor. It is true that his plan does call for a Congressional declaration that it will not affect existing labor laws or procedures, but the provision that no war worker shall be compelled to join a labor union should be modified to prevent it from being used to undermine and destroy established unions. No provision is made for protecting the seniority rights of workers who are shifted into war industries, and there is no recognition of the necessity for giving labor adequate representation in the administration of the proposed civilian selective service. These essential safeguards are in no way inconsistent with the need for compulsion; but they should be brought into the picture from the start.

✶

OUR APPRECIATION OF ELMER DAVIS AND OF his work as head of the Office of War Information makes it hard for us to understand his comment on the visit to Lisbon of General Gómez Jordana, Franco's Foreign Minister. According to Mr. Davis, "all the evidence indicates that the Spanish government is quite sincere in its desire to remain neutral and collaborate with Portugal in an Iberian bloc outside the war." It may be that the OWI has been favored with an inside report of such convincing nature as to counterbalance everything we have lately heard about Franco's "neutrality." It is possible that the submarines which recently refueled in the port of Palos were not German but British. Perhaps the tourists who have been pouring into the country in such unusual numbers were agents not of the Gestapo but of Scotland Yard, brought to Spain on the suggestion of Sir Samuel Hoare to protect Franco against any attempt on his life by his former Nazi friends. It is possible that even the last Franco speech as reproduced in the New York *Times* was a long typographical error. Perhaps—but just the same, while it would be inappropriate to ask a government official to reveal the sources of his evidence, we would have preferred from Mr. Davis a statement either a good deal more explicit or a little more restrained.

Darlan—and After

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE assassination of Darlan was a free gift to the United States. Everyone felt this, no matter what he said publicly. Even the inevitable official denunciations had a hollow sound. It is possible to imagine that some responsible officials were chagrined to find their North African policy shown up quite so violently; but they can hardly have been taken in by their own expressions of horror and disapproval. To describe the shooting as "first-degree murder" or as "odious and cowardly" may have been good protocol; it was inexcusable from any other point of view. Assassination is not a nice weapon; it can be justified only as an act of desperation bred by tyranny. But it is not a weapon chosen by cowards. The young man who killed Darlan died two days later, his examination and execution wrapped in a most suspicious secrecy, and he died bravely, taking full responsibility for his act. Cowards do not invite such a fate.

So far the authorities in Africa have concealed the assassin's identity. An early report that he was either Italian or German quickly collapsed. It was followed by the admission that he was a Frenchman, but radio and press have carried frequent assurances that he had an Italian mother. To emphasize this fact while refusing to reveal his name or political affiliations or the findings of the military court is a form of censorship which can only irritate the public and convince it, without further evidence, that the assassin was a patriot and not a Vichy-Axis agent. If he had been, people reason, surely the censors would have told us so. I suggest to Elmer Davis and those above and around him, here and in North Africa, that an honest, full account of the killing of Darlan would allay suspicion and provide a healthy antidote to official hypocrisy.

What the unknown Frenchman gave America was a second chance. The President's promise that Eisenhower's deal with Darlan was only a "temporary expedient" has been ironically fulfilled: the Admiral is out of office and

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the fruits of expediency are mostly in the basket. Already the other Vichy generals have shown their readiness to continue the fight against Hitler under the leadership of Giraud, and as this issue goes to press, the Fighting French are moving toward an arrangement with the new North African command. Only a failure of political understanding equal to that which dumped us into the Darlan hornets' nest can spoil our second chance in North Africa. Such a failure would be inexcusable. We have been given an expensive lesson in political warfare; we have learned how closely the inexpedient can follow on the heels of expediency, how dangerous it is to leave political decisions to men innocent of politics or ready, in an emergency, to ignore the certain consequences of such decisions. We also have been given a chance to eat our cake and have it, but the terms are not such as to encourage other ventures of the same sort. *Attentats* are too close to revolution to be worth gambling on.

The choice of General Giraud as French High Commissioner in Africa—it is to be noted that he is not assuming Darlan's self-bestowed title of Chief of State—opens the door to that general concentration of French power which would have been impossible under Darlan and which may have momentous consequences for the winning of the war. If General de Gaulle and General Giraud can actually combine their forces, we shall have, as George Fielding Eliot pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune*, "the whole of the French African empire, plus Syria, the Pacific islands, and the French West Indies, fighting as a unit for the liberation of the mother country." And as a second result, young Frenchmen who have been inhibited by the bitter divisions in France itself will feel free to escape by thousands to join their bolder brothers who form the existing army of Fighting France.

It is General Giraud's good luck that he was a prisoner of the Nazis after the defeat of France. By this accident of fate he was spared the necessity of making a choice which might have wrecked his opportunity of leadership today. The Germans preserved him in an almost miraculous purity for the day when he could serve as a link between his country's divided forces of resistance. In addition he has the advantage of being a military rather than a political man. We have the word of Pertinax that his political leanings are far toward the right; but it is not by these inclinations that he is known. He has become a symbol of patriotism and the will to fight, and he is uncontaminated by the slightest smear of treason or defeatism. So by all the most important tests for this particular time Giraud offers the best chance of bringing together the recent converts among the Vichy generals in North Africa and the stubborn Fighting French.

Before this issue appears, De Gaulle may have gone to Africa to confer with Giraud and the Americans. He carries with him not only the power of his armed forces on sea and land but also the backing of all the organized groups of resistance in France. He represents the faith of the French people in their fight for freedom. This gives him great bargaining power. It imposes on him an equally great responsibility. How he discharges it will determine the character of the coalition he hopes to form. He will be dealing with men most of whom have only contempt for the democratic elements in France, the democratic aims of the war. Noguès and Bergeret, Boisson and Chatel are little better than Darlan. It is they who, as governors of the Vichy African possessions, were responsible for the arrests, the concentration camps, the enforcement of Vichy's anti-Jewish laws in their respective bailiwicks. In spite of the American occupation, in spite of President Roosevelt's protests, those fruits of fascist rule persist. De Gaulle is faced with the inescapable necessity of insisting as the price of his cooperation on the immediate ending of Vichy's repression in Africa. This is a prerequisite to everything else. And it will be the first duty of the American authorities to give him their unqualified backing in establishing actual freedom in the regions we are supposed to have freed.

How successfully we meet this clear-cut test will demonstrate how well we have taken advantage of our second chance. When the last son of Fighting France, the last Czech or German or Polish refugee, the last Jew, the last Spanish Loyalist emerges from the prisons and work camps of Africa, then we shall have reason to believe that the lesson of Darlan's death has been learned by America.

1918 and 1943

"COLONEL BRITTON," the British radio mystery man who put over the "V" campaign, has emerged again to popularize a new slogan. He is asking his listeners in the occupied countries to chalk the figures "1918" wherever they can as a reminder to their taskmasters of that fateful date. Now that the initiative is passing to the hands of the United Nations, this seems a good idea around which to build up a new offensive in the war of nerves. For while 1918 offers a message of hope to the enslaved peoples of Europe, it rings ominously in German ears. Moreover, Goebbels is unwittingly turning German thoughts in the same direction, for, compelled to cover up unfulfilled boasts of success on the Russian front, he is now explaining that this is a war of attrition and stressing the defensive strength of the Axis.

Attrition is a word with sinister connotations for the Germans. In the fourth winter of the last war they began to realize that they were its victims, and not all Goebbels's skill will suffice to persuade them that this process

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can now work in their favor. They know, too, that Hitler's plans in 1939 called not for a war of endurance but for Blitzkrieg. Now they see that a brilliant chain of rapid victories has proved Dead Sea fruit, and they are invited to hold on grimly, not so much to achieve *the* victory which has eluded them as to avoid total destruction. There is a note of defeatism in this new Nazi propaganda line which should serve as a definite encouragement to our exponents of political warfare. The analogies between the situation at the dawn of 1918 and the present time are sufficiently striking to provide material for radio broadcasts designed to undermine German morale.

Probably the people of the Reich are rather better fed at the present time than they were in the winter of 1917-18, but they have clearly before their eyes signs that the economic machinery is running down. The worsening of the transport situation cannot be hidden, and the wastage of man-power in Russia is reflected in the increasing hordes of unwilling foreign workers.

And now, however much Goebbels may minimize the importance of the Mediterranean battles or attempt to depict Rommel's flight as a strategic victory, the Germans are aware that there is a second front in being which menaces the weakest flank of the Fortress of Europe. They must be reminded how, in 1918, while the main German armies were still intact and even winning victories in France, Allied pressure in Palestine, in Bulgaria, and in Italy was crumbling the resistance of their allies. These collapses in the rear, together with the deterioration of morale on the home front, were potent factors promoting defeatism among the soldiers in France.

It is good to remind the Germans of these things. But we must remind ourselves that the forces of attrition will only work on our side if they are assisted by a crescendo of military blows. Six months ago the cause of the United Nations was at its nadir. Rommel was at the gates of Egypt, the Nazis were advancing steadily toward their objectives in southern Russia, and the Japanese were consolidating their vast conquests. Today, at the start of a new year, the military picture is vastly brighter. Everywhere we and our allies have gained the initiative. On the long eastern front the Red Army is beating the same kind of tattoo against the weather-bound Germans that softened Ludendorff's defenses in France in the summer of 1918. In the dwindling corner of Africa that remains to the Axis, Americans, Britons, and Frenchmen are uniting to throw back the enemy across the Mediterranean. In the Pacific, if we have regained but little territory, we are waging a campaign that is compelling the Japanese to expend ships and planes at a faster rate than they can be replaced.

So we can look forward with some cheer to 1943. But we must remember that the final triumph in 1918 was preceded by a year of bitter fighting, including one last desperate German offensive in France that came uncomfortably close to success. The possibilities of strategic action remaining open to Hitler are circumscribed, but he may still prove capable of striking an unexpected and dangerous blow. The best way to guard against such a contingency is unremitting pressure, and we hope that, before the year is very old, this will include the establishment of that third front in the west which Premier Churchill has forecast. Russian resilience combined with the African campaign has served to force the Axis on the defensive and to inculcate an undeniable mood of defeatism both in Germany and Italy. A powerful punch nearer to the enemy's heart might well serve to collapse the foundations of the Nazi regime and repeat in 1943 the story of 1918.

Ominous Parallel

SINCE *The Nation* first drew the attention of its readers to the civil war which is now going on in Yugoslavia, many new facts have come to light. At a later date we shall sum up this new evidence, but for the time being there is one aspect of the problem which seems more important than any other. It is now universally agreed that the U. S. S. R. is supporting, with propaganda and with arms, the intensely militant partisans. At the same time London and Washington are continuing to give both moral and practical aid to General Mihailovich.

In pointing out the grave dangers represented by this division we quote from two extraordinary and, to say the least, ominous articles that appeared in the New York *Times* of December 20 and 21. Harold Callender, who has lately seemed to echo the State Department view of things, writes that the dispute in Yugoslavia foreshadows what "will be the great diplomatic enigma that will hang over the efforts of peacemaking after this war—the question of long-term relations between Moscow" and the democratic powers. Citing diplomatic quarters as his source, he goes on to say: "Just as the civil war in Spain, which was in part an aggression by the Axis, proved a prelude and rehearsal for the World War of today, so the struggle in Yugoslavia seems to be a preface to the great unresolved conflict of the future." We hope we misunderstand Mr. Callender's words. We should like, indeed, to believe that his informants did not mean what he said. But the plain meaning of this comparison of the Spanish and Yugoslav civil wars as preludes to greater struggles is that someone in Washington is thinking in stage whispers about eventual war with Soviet Russia.

The rest of Mr. Callender's stories consists of an extremely adroit entry on the records. The partisan move-

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ment in Yugoslavia was not of spontaneous origin, Mr. Callender says. Communists organized it after June, 1941, not for political ends but to step up the campaign against the Axis. This assertion, far different from the earlier charge that the partisans were criminals and bandits, is perhaps intended to soothe the Kremlin's feelings a little, but also to prepare public opinion for another unpleasant possibility. "In case our forces made an invasion through this region they would be embarrassed to choose local allies unless the two Yugoslav groups unite, for to line up with one group might incur the enmity of the other."

The dilemma which Mr. Callender hints at here will seem all the more sharp to those who have followed the recent propaganda efforts of the two groups. The Free Yugoslavia radio station, much quoted in Moscow, has just made the astonishing statement that Mihailovich has lost all power within Yugoslavia. The same station reports the formation of the first constituent assembly to be held on liberated soil. Since the task of a constituent assembly is either to govern or to draw up a constitution, a new government would appear to be coming into existence. We hardly need point out the tremendous difficulties such dual authority would present to the United Nations. Again we urge London and Washington and Moscow to intervene jointly and to seek a common solution to this problem. The partisans must be recognized. The royal government-in-exile should reform itself. But beyond all this the three great powers concerned must formulate provisional peace plans now. Whatever the statesmen may believe or want, the common people are not fighting this war as a prelude to "the great unresolved conflict of the future."

Back the Tolan Committee

WE HOPE that our readers will write to Speaker Rayburn of the House and to Minority Leader Martin demanding that the Tolan committee be given the funds it needs to continue its work. No other committee of Congress has done so much to help us understand the domestic problems created by the war as this Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration; no other has thrown so much light on the measures necessary for total mobilization of man- and machine-power. Had it not been for the hearings this House committee has been holding since the spring of 1941, we should know immeasurably less than we do about the war effort on the home front. The latest fruit of its work is the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill for an Office of War Mobilization, and the support this measure has evoked is an indication of the respect the committee has won for itself in both houses of Congress.

The chairman of the committee is a Democrat, John H. Tolan of California. The two other Democratic members are John J. Sparkman of Alabama and Laurence F. Arnold of Illinois. The two Republican members are Carl T. Curtis of Kansas and George H. Bender of Ohio. All deserve praise for the public-spirited, thoughtful, and non-partisan manner in which the committee has conducted itself. Special commendation is due the chairman for his progressive leadership, and the research staff of able young men and women under Robert K. Lamb. The constructive work accomplished by the Tolan committee is, among other things, the best answer to current attacks on Congress.

Progressive organizations and labor unions can find no better way to educate their members in the problems of the war effort than by circulating among them copies of the six reports so far made by the Tolan committee. We should have saved ourselves much trouble if we had paid more attention earlier to its findings and recommendations. The first report, issued in October, 1941, was the fruit of hearings in several rapidly expanding centers of war industry. It stressed the need for improving housing, health, education, and recreation for migrants; for minimizing migration by fuller utilization of local labor (through training programs and elimination of discriminatory practices); and for spreading defense work more widely. The committee warned that concentration of arms contracts was creating ghost towns as well as boom towns.

The committee's most noteworthy hearings were those it held immediately after Pearl Harbor, when it questioned Under Secretary of War Patterson, William S. Knudsen, and a panel of engineers made up of Morris Llewellyn Cooke, Alex Taub, Harlow S. Person, and S. T. Henry. The testimony of this panel is still the best guide we have to the basic problems of arms production. The result of the hearings was embodied in the committee's Second Interim Report, "Recommendations on Full Utilization of America's Industrial Capacity and Labor Supply in the War Effort." This report played a part both in the decision to shut down automobile production for the duration and in the establishment of the War Production Board. The problems of small business and the need for utilizing it more fully in the war program were emphasized in the third report. The fourth, a study of the evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast, warned against a similar evacuation of German and Italian aliens from the East Coast by military authorities. The Attorney General's recent order removing the label of enemy alien from 600,000 Italians was in line with the committee's recommendations.

Both the committee's fifth report, issued in August, and its better-known sixth report of last October dealt with the problems of man-power, production scheduling, materials control, and better labor utilization. Its findings and recommendations in these reports have been of

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the greatest value to members of Congress, public officials, business men, and the press in helping them to understand current war-production difficulties. The few thousand dollars the committee has spent is very little considering the economies and increased efficiency it has helped to bring about in the handling of the war effort. *The Nation* appeals to both parties to make the Tolan committee a standing committee in the House for the duration, as a means of keeping Congress and the country informed of the progress on the home front.

Prospects for the New Year

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 27

SOUNDINGS here and in the Middle West during recent weeks indicate the danger of serious domestic conflicts in our country during 1943. These would amply compensate the Nazis for our presence in North Africa and our increased military strength. Developments on the American domestic front might make it possible for the Nazis or their German successors to emerge from the war via a negotiated peace with much of their territorial and economic loot intact. This suggestion may seem far-fetched, if not fantastic, to those who mistake first successes on the periphery of the new German and Japanese empires for decisive military victories. But they will be considered seriously by those who try not to underestimate Hitler, who do not fall into the error of imagining that there will be no more surprises in this war, and who understand the supreme importance of the political factor in its development.

The points of danger are these: Too many industrialists still hate Mr. Roosevelt much more than they do Hitler, if it can be said that they hate Hitler at all. Their state of mind might be described by saying that while they don't mind fighting the Japs, they are not particularly interested in fighting the Nazis. This is certainly true of many in top management in Detroit, and there are others like them elsewhere. These men feel that they have Mr. Roosevelt on the run at last, that the time has arrived to smash the New Deal and the labor movement. Basically, they are more interested in fighting this battle on the domestic front to a victorious conclusion than in the war itself. Just as they turned 1941, which should have been a year of all-out preparation, into a year of business as usual, so they intend to turn 1943, which should be the year of an all-out offensive, into a year of politics as usual.

These forces have an instrument made to order in the new Congress. Their purposes are better served by the nominal but precarious Democratic majority than they would have been by a Republican Congress. A Republican Congress would have forced right-wing Democrats to follow the President's leadership; a nominally Democratic but anti-New Deal majority will force the President to follow or anticipate the wishes of the right-wing Democrats if he wants to get anything through Congress at all. It is more convenient for the Republican Party to have New Deal legislation repealed or amended by a bipartisan conservative coalition than to face the 1944 elections with full responsibility on its own shoulders. A Republican Congress would have clarified the issues and simplified the tasks of the President. The need for keep- the Democratic majority together in this Congress, on the other hand, entails new compromises, which in turn further compromise the President in the eyes of the people.

To set this new Congress in motion on the task of dismantling some of the New Deal reforms—to get rid of all of them by frontal attack is hopeless—something like a "Reichstag fire" is required, some sensational outbreak that can be used to inflame the public against labor. A succession of provocations, for example, in a great war-production center like Detroit would make it more and more difficult for labor leadership to prevent strikes. It would tend to drive a wedge between the turbulent rank and file and the harassed leadership, and at the proper time a wave of strikes would provide the necessary basis for a new and successful legislative attack on labor. If this went to the extent of forcing the government to call out troops, it would further separate the Administration from the workers and add to the demoralization of the labor movement. In a situation of that kind the President would become completely the prisoner of the anti-New Deal forces. Just such a situation is feared by labor leadership in the Detroit area and is apparently being fomented by the attitude of management toward grievances in the plants of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler.

In this coalition of reactionary elements in big business and in both parties in Congress a small but dangerous fascist-minded and pro-Nazi minority is skilfully manipulating a larger mass that is conscious of no unpatriotic or defeatist purpose. Just how bold and confident this minority has become may be seen from the threats in Congress to investigate the Department of Justice for its recent indictment of seditionists linked with the America First Committee. This minority and the copperhead press

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may be expected to go beyond a mere anti-New Deal program into a sphere of action openly encouraging to pro-Axis forces. Their plans will be helped by the fact that this year the war will really begin to be felt on the home front in the form of greater sacrifices for civilians and diminishing profits for industrialists.

Instead of waiting for the coming Congressional attack and then being forced to retreat, the President has already chosen a policy of orderly withdrawal to prepared defensive positions. From Mr. Roosevelt's point of view, 1944 is more important than 1943. He may figure that it is best to let the opposition lunge forward and be thrown off balance by the absence of an expected head-on collision with the Administration; to let it reveal its strength and perhaps to overreach itself and evoke a reaction. The President is a resourceful man and will keep his political powder dry until he gets closer to the next election. The possibility of a successful appeal to the people may be enhanced after they have got a full taste of the anti-New Deal coalition in action. It will be interesting to see how far the President goes in the direction of an "American Beveridge plan" in his message to the new Congress. Just as surely as he is now casting about for a new and electrifying idea with which to appeal to the aspirations of common men everywhere, it is certain that he will hold back the complete details of his new program until the psychological moment in 1944. This, the President feels, is the time for a Byrnes. There will be time for a Wallace, too. But later.

What forces can be set in motion to help the President? Measures must be taken to keep the copperheads on the defensive. There are Congressional committees dominated either by New Dealers or by a coalition of New Dealers and conservative Republicans—as the Truman committee—united by a common desire for an all-out effort. It would do a great deal of good, for example, to throw the spotlight of a Senate inquiry on the festering sores in the Detroit area. There is real need for a new mass organization in which patriotic Americans of both left and right could unite for action on the great problems of the war.

The home front will be the dangerous front in 1943.

The Jews of Europe

I. THE REMNANTS OF A PEOPLE

BY PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

THREE considerations prompt the writing of these articles. First, there is the hope to impress on the conscience of free men the vastness and the ghastliness of the Jewish tragedy in Europe. If they will realize that the Jews are the worst victims of this war, if they will understand that life or death is at stake for this whole people, then perhaps when occasions arise to help, whether through international political action or the giving of relief or the temporary relaxation of immigration restrictions, their decisions may be influenced by compassion, not by self-interest alone.

Second, it is imperative to perceive that what is happening to the Jews is but the foreshadowing of the fate of other peoples under Nazi rule. It has been the strange role of this unhappy people to mirror in its life the destiny of mankind. The oppression of the Jew has been the symptom of decay; it has led inexorably to tyranny, war, and collapse. In their early attacks upon the Jews, the Nazis revealed the pattern of their treacherous and ruthless assault upon the whole Western world. And now in their mass slaughter of Jews they demonstrate what is in store for other peoples as frustration further embitters their mean spirits in the fourth year of war. What we can do to prevent this is still unclear.

Finally, there is the desire that men of vision should at last realize that the solution of the Jewish problem in Europe is not the concern alone of the Jews or of the Christian conscience. Tough-minded statesmen must understand that the future peace of the world is bound up with it. For centuries the Jews have been the scapegoats for Europe's frustrations. They have been the easy prey of ruling classes under attack, of rulers defeated in war, of impoverished, embittered masses. They have been an ever-present temptation to demagogues in quest of power. Unwittingly, they were an obstacle to the genuine solution of Europe's problems; it was easier to attack the Jews than the basic causes of those problems. "Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools," said a wise German leader. Attacks upon the Jews and their expulsion from various countries have been an unsettling force in Europe. A peace treaty which does not include provisions for solving the Jewish problem will be incomplete. A normal secure status for the Jews of Europe is a prerequisite for the establishment of the Four Freedoms for mankind.

In this series of articles I propose first to state the facts, then to discuss the possibilities for help in the near future, and finally to consider the long-range solution

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of the problem. What are the facts? Here will be presented only such evidence as has been authenticated by our own State Department, by responsible heads of governments-in-exile, by established Jewish agencies functioning in Europe, by trusted eyewitnesses who have escaped from Hitlerite persecution, by letters from known persons in Europe sent to known persons and organizations in this country, and by official statements of the Nazis themselves. The picture is not complete; it will never be. Innumerable Jews have perished without record, as though swallowed up by the earth. Thousands of young Jewish children will never know who their parents were, and tens of thousands of Jewish mothers and fathers will never know what became of their children. The report at this moment takes on a fragmentary character. The gaps cannot be filled until the war is ended. But the main outlines are stark clear. They reveal the most horrible suffering of this war and the most frightful desolation in all Jewish history.

The tragedy of the Jews in this war is unique. Other peoples are suffering keenly under the savage assault of Hitler's forces, but they suffer as enemies of the Nazis in the ravages of war. Hitler promises to make peace with them in his new order, even though their role in that order may be an inferior one. But with the Jews there is to be no peace. They are being slaughtered in cold blood wherever the Nazis can lay hands upon them. Hitler's henchmen are swiftly executing his threat of January 30, 1939, that this war would result in "the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."

This extermination was initiated in Germany itself. There were 600,000 Jews in that country when Hitler came to power. By 1939 oppression and forced migration had reduced the number to 200,000. Today there are only 40,000 elderly, weakened Jews in Germany, who cannot long survive. Their death rate is five times that of the rest of the German civilian population. Since the beginning of the war more than 100,000 Jews have perished in Germany through pogroms, suicides, exposure, privation, and expulsion. An authenticated letter dated April 8, 1942, from a responsible person in Germany vividly describes what has happened:

> Since the outbreak of the war between Germany and the United States, the vilest crimes against Jews have been perpetrated. They are being deported to unknown destinations. Many have already committed suicide—about 1,200 to date. You can readily understand the attitude of these hopeless creatures who prefer immediate death to being killed by slow torture. The first transports of Jews sent to Litzmannstadt (formerly Lodz), each one consisting of 1,500 souls, have not been heard from in five months, doubtless because the area is infested with epidemics. The people are dying like flies. . . . The transport which left on January 25 surpassed all previous transports for the bestial treatment accorded the Jews. One thousand human beings, among them children, were crowded into cattle trains in freezing weather. . . . These human beings were locked in the cattle trains for eight weeks, and not a single one remained alive. . . . These people died miserably from hunger and cold.

This program of mass expulsion has completely wiped out the Jewish population of many German cities. Even the tombstones have been torn from the earth. The Nazis have systematically set out to destroy every physical evidence of the organic connections of the Jew with German history.

The defeats in Russia and the bombings of Germany have intensified Nazi anti-Semitism. Howard Smith in "Last Train from Berlin" reports how the Nazis have diverted the sense of frustration and the rising wrath of the German masses to the traditional scapegoat—the Jews. On June 12 of this year Propaganda Minister Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich* that the Jews would "atone" for the R. A. F. bombings of Cologne and other German cities "with the extermination of their race in all Europe, and perhaps even beyond Europe." Immediately after the first R. A. F. attacks on Cologne, 258 Jews were arrested in Berlin. They were marched to the Gross Lichterfelde barracks and shot in the presence of photographers and reporters. This "reprisal" was widely publicized.

The most important Nazi leaders openly advocate the annihilation of the Jews. In the speech delivered in Munich on November 8 Hitler reminded the Jews that once they had laughed at his threat of extermination. But now, he boasted, "countless numbers of those who laughed then are no longer laughing." It was a certain Hermann Backe who last summer presented to Hitler a diabolical plan for the mass destruction of the Jews which has since been adopted. Until now the Jews have received approximately half as much food as the Poles, who have received only half as much as the Germans. Herr Backe, the New York *Times* reported on December 8, has now been appointed Food Minister of Germany, and as such he will possess absolute authority to starve those Jews who escape violent death. The Nazis have found a typical rationalization for these murders. Writes Karl Rudolf Werner Best, chief jurist of the Gestapo, "History teaches that the annihilation of an alien people is not contrary to the laws of life, providing the annihilation is complete."

It is in Poland that the Nazis have given the fullest implementation to their policy. Perhaps this is because of Hitler's special venom for Polish Jews as revealed in "Mein Kampf," or because Poland is near the eastern front, where the impact of war has obliterated such civilian restraints as still obtain inside Germany. Conditions seemed frightful in Poland even last summer. Driven from their homes, denied normal means of subsistence, Jews huddled in ghettos, half-starved, perishing from epidemics, living in hourly terror of reprisals for Nazi

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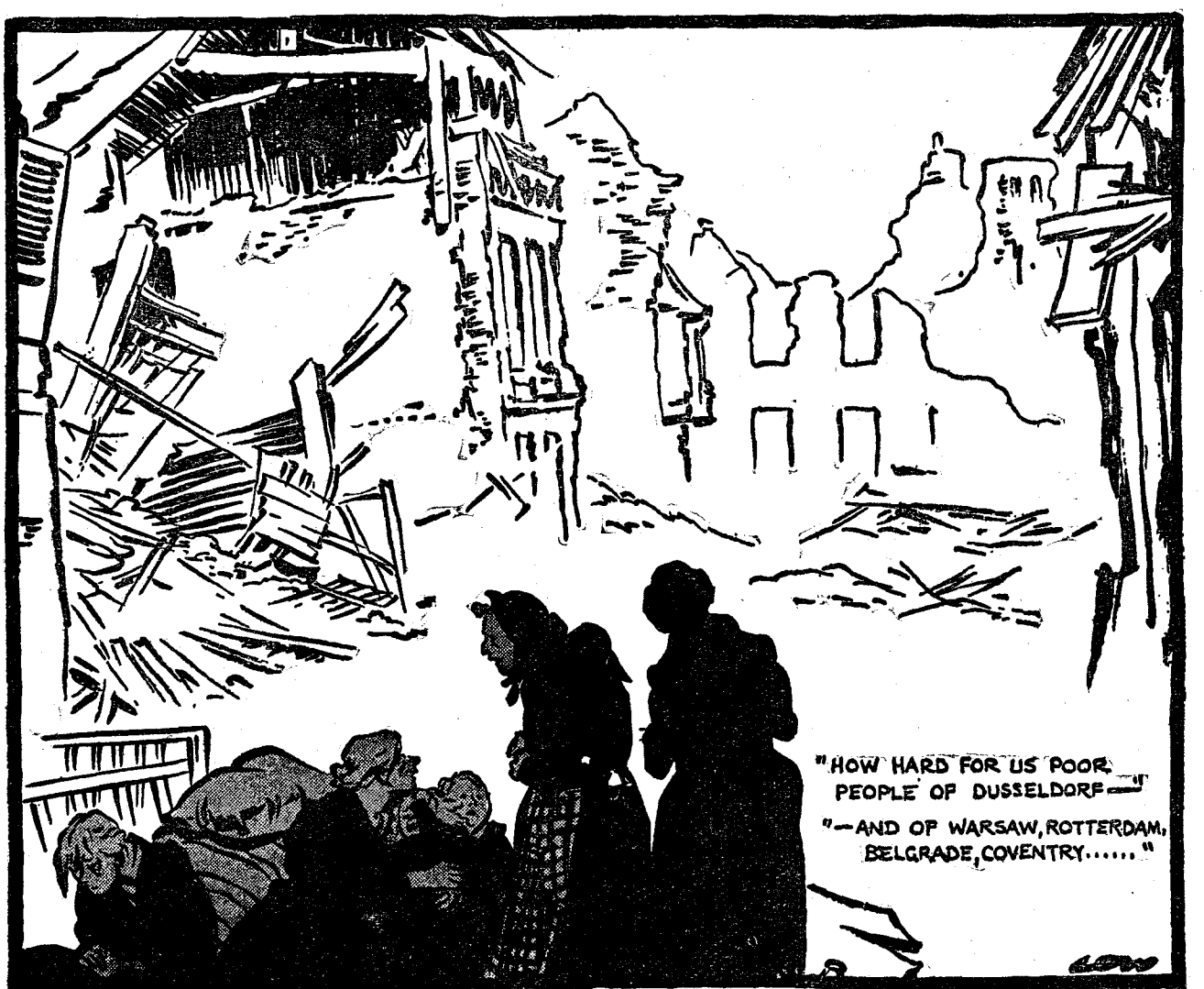
setbacks. Their able-bodied men were forced into slave labor. Their synagogues were burned. They were, they felt, at the bottom of the pit.

But something was happening which even they, inured to suffering, could not believe. It was heralded by the suicide of Adam Czerniakow, the full import of which was not immediately understood. This distinguished Jewish leader had been burgomaster of the Warsaw ghetto since its establishment. In the most trying circumstances—he was severely beaten by the Nazis on several occasions—he conducted himself with dignity and courage. Although he carried a vial of poison with him at all times, he never lost hope. Moved by an inescapable sense of duty, he went about his business of rebuilding Jewish community life and relieving distress wherever possible. Then one day in August it was announced that Adam Czerniakow had taken his life. This was not like the man whose sense of responsibility alone would have sustained him. But it was his sense of responsibility which undid him. For the Nazis had demanded, it was revealed, a list of 100,000 Jews to be deported to "an undetermined place." He refused—to the point of death. His motive subsequently became clear. The Nazis had begun their systematic slaughter. Czerniakow was being requested, in effect, to provide the victims. He chose, rather, death for himself.

But this did not modify Nazi relentlessness. They unleashed a program of mass murder of civilians which has no parallel in recorded history. Deputy Prime Minister Mikolajczvk, head of the Polish National Council, now in London, reported concerning this phase:

> In the Warsaw ghetto, behind walls cutting them off from the world, hundreds of thousands of doomed are awaiting death. No hope of rescue exists for them. . . . On the pavements lie unburied bodies. Daily a prescribed number of victims amounts from eight to ten thousand. . . . Children who cannot walk by themselves are put into trucks. This is carried out in such a brutal manner that very few reach the ramparts alive. Mothers go mad watching this. At the ramparts railway cars wait. People are packed so tightly that those who die cannot fall but remain standing side by side with those still living or dying slowly from fumes of lime and chlorine, from being deprived of air, water, and food. . . . Wherever and whenever death trains arrive they contain only corpses. . . . What has been going on in the Warsaw ghetto has been going on in hundreds of the larger and smaller Polish places. . . . All are perishing.



BEGINNINGS OF FELLOW-FEELING

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Cold statistics testify to the effectiveness of this pogrom. In March, 1942, 433,000 ration cards were issued to the Jews of Warsaw. Seven months later only 40,000 were printed!

Recent official confirmation of this slaughter appears in the joint declaration of the United Nations issued on December 19:

> In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughterhouse, the ghettos established by the German invader are being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for war industries. None of those taken away is ever heard of again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to death in labor camps. The infirm are left to die of starvation and exposure or are deliberately massacred in mass executions. The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women, and children.

The same official declaration reported the fate of the Jews in other European countries: "In Yugoslavia 99 per cent of the country's Jews and those who had taken refuge there from other countries are now dead." In Slovakia "65,000 Jewish men, women, and children were deported to Polish ghettos, and the deportation of the remaining 20,000 is imminent."

Equally authentic reports indicate that not more than 270,000 Jews are left of the 900,000 who lived in Rumania proper in 1939. Of the 185,000 deported to the prison camps at Transistria, some 75,000 have perished. Fewer than 10,000 Jews remain in Belgium of the 85,000 who lived there in 1940.

The assault upon the Jews goes beyond the destruction of human lives. Nearly every synagogue on the European continent has been bombed, burned, or converted to some vulgar purpose, such as a latrine or a stable. The sacred scrolls of the law have been desecrated, and public worship forbidden. Except for those who escaped early, the leading rabbis have been imprisoned or murdered. The great centers of Jewish culture have been completely obliterated. Vilna, the "Jerusalem of Lithuania," was for centuries a fountainhead of spirituality and learning. In October, 1942, the Nazis announced gleefully that Vilna was *Judenrein*. Gura Kalwaria near Warsaw was a center of Jewish mysticism, Hasidism. The Nazis bombed it out of existence. Since the pogrom of 1903, Kishineff in Bessarabia had been a hallowed Jewish community. Now, the Nazis boast, no Jew is left in the city. No one can yet measure the meaning of such losses, for these communities sustained Israel with faith and hope and enriched the totality of man's spiritual life.

Nor can we yet measure the damage done by the Nazis to the position of the Jews in the world. By the most unscrupulous and efficient propaganda in history they have made the word "Jew" a stigma, not a name. In a decade they have wiped out the gains of 150 years of emancipation. To this melancholy fact France gives eloquent testimony. The Jews of revolutionary France were the first in Europe to win full civil rights. And now a French government under Nazi control has withdrawn those rights and reduced them to their medieval status. Even if defeated the Nazis will have made it very difficult for the Jews to achieve security in Europe. For they have accustomed the nations to a lowered status for the Jews; at best they have made the rights of Jews again a debatable question in the world.

This account would be incomplete without some reference to the reactions of Jews and Christians in Europe to these frightful events. Among Jews, there are terror, numb despair, and a bitter struggle for survival. But there are also courage, dignity, and determination. Reports emerge of a vigorous communal life organized in the ghettos. A letter comes from a man about to die at the hands of the Nazis: "The greatest trial has now arrived. When you receive these lines I shall be no more. I ask only one thing, that you be stronger than ever." Dr. Leo Bæck, Germany's leading rabbi, who might have fled but chose to remain at his post so long as there were any Jews left in Germany, offered this prayer at Rosh Hashanah: "We bow our heads before God, and remain upright and erect before man. We know our way and we see the road to our goal. . . . Therefore, let us throw back the insult, evil, and malice aimed against us." For this, of course, he was again arrested.

European Christendom, at first confused and silent before the Nazi assault, has more recently reasserted its righteous indignation and its humanity. In the Catholic denunciations of the expulsion of French Jews and the shielding of Jewish children by the Paris police, in the Dutch Protestants' voluntary wearing of the yellow badge of David and the conduct of German men and women who quietly take their places in shopping lines with Jews—in these countless acts, great and small, are found the reaffirmation of Christian principles and the promise of better days to come. It is precisely because Hitler knows that the Christians of Europe would rebel against his monumental inhumanity that he finds it necessary to move the Jews to eastern wastelands for execution.

What a pity that this reaction comes so late! A clearer perception ten years ago of the meaning and intent of Hitlerism might have spared the world this holocaust. As Cauchon asks in Shaw's "St. Joan," "Must then a Christ perish in torment in every age to save those that have no imagination?"

[*This is the first of three articles on the position of European Jewry. Dr. Bernstein's second article, to appear next week, will discuss what may be done to help Hitler's Jewish victims now and immediately after the end of the war.*]

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Castillo Is Not Argentina

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile, December 5

DURING my recent trip to the United States I met dozens of people who criticized Argentina for not having broken off relations with the Axis. Some of them believed that Argentina was pro-fascist, others that it aspired to be the great imperialist power of the South. Some told me that the Argentines were proud and nationalistic and that they should be dealt with more firmly. Others said they were people who hated the United States. Very few of them knew the real story.

The Argentines are, in general, a peace-loving, democratic nation; they may be divided into a large working class and a middle class inclined to liberalism. Politically, they are in strange contradiction to their government, which is pro-fascist and came into power in the first place through fraudulent elections. It would thus be a serious mistake to judge the country by its present President. Castillo is a reactionary politician, put into power and supported by a minority of two thousand land-owning families who are in a constant fear of democracy, socialism, or any kind of freedom for the Argentine people.

You will ask why the Argentine people have not demanded the resignation of President Castillo. The best answer I can give is to cite the Spanish civil war. That, too, was a struggle between a fascist minority—a very strong one—and a democratic majority of the people, who were unorganized.

Certain factors greatly facilitate Castillo's execution of a policy of "prudent neutrality." The most important of these is his country's position as one of the major producers of meat and grain in the world. More than half its annual production normally goes to Europe. In 1939, when conditions were still almost normal, Argentina exported 36 per cent of its wheat and meat to England, 12 per cent to Germany, and 6 per cent to France, a total of 54 per cent. In the same year the United States took only 12 per cent of Argentina's exports. Castillo and the people he represents think first of Europe, which they consider a permanent market for their products; inter-American solidarity is but a vague second thought. They do not ask themselves who will win the war but who will be the dominant power in Europe.

Argentine exports did not substantially diminish after the outbreak of the war, except those to Germany. In 1939 Great Britain took 564,000,000 pesos' worth of Argentine exports; in 1940, 544,000,000 pesos' worth. In 1939 France's purchases were worth 76,000,000 pesos, and in 1940, 82,000,000.

With so heavy a stake in foreign trade, Castillo is in continuous dread of German submarines. Argentina owns some two dozen merchant ships that ply between Buenos Aires and the United States or between Buenos Aires and those European zones still open to non-belligerents, mainly Spain and Portugal. These ships are the only means of alleviating the congestion on the docks of Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Bahia Blanca, where great stocks of meat and grain are piling up. So far, only two or three Argentine ships have been torpedoed by German submarines, according to Castillo, who, playing right into the hands of the Axis propagandists, contends that if Argentina broke off relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan, the two dozen merchant ships would be sunk or would have to remain in port.

But internal politics are the real cause of Argentina's "prudent neutrality." Castillo is pro-fascist and anti-democratic because the triumph of democracy in the world would inconvenience him and his regime. Castillo is president of Argentina by accident. He succeeded Roberto M. Ortiz, a former radical who, after gaining office by the fraud that has obtained in every Argentine election since 1932, turned against his new backers and reestablished free elections. The accident was Ortiz's illness in 1940. At first Acting President, Castillo succeeded to the Presidency on the death of Ortiz and began immediately to undo all the good his predecessor had accomplished. He now governs Argentina as a dictator, resolved to remain in power at any cost, and he is well aware that if the Axis loses, he will be swept from the Casa Rosada in Buenos Aires. Thus his political, personal, and group interests coincide with those of the fascists. On the other hand, the political interests of Castillo's opposition, which unquestionably comprises the majority of the nation, lie with the United Nations.

Which of these groups represents the true Argentina? It will be well to remember that of the three great Argentine political parties, two are pro-United Nations and the third is divided between neutrals and those who want relations with the Axis broken off. The most powerful of the three is the Radical Party, which controls 60 per cent of the votes. The death of its two leaders, Irigoyen and Alvear, and its prolonged persecution at the hands of the government have brought it now to a crisis. But its principles are democratic, and its representatives in the Chamber are fervent anti-fascists. The Socialist Party,

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which receives 15 per cent of the electoral vote, is definitely for breaking with the Axis. In the Conservative Party, which controls 20 per cent of the voters, there is pro-Allied sentiment, but it is repressed by powerful elements favoring neutrality.

The Chamber of Deputies, where Radicals and Socialists form the absolute majority, has asked the government on three different occasions to break off diplomatic relations with the Axis. It also ordered the investigation of Nazi activities by a special commission presided over by the young Radical Raúl Damonte Taborda. In October, 1942, the Radical deputies publicly accused Castillo's Minister of Foreign Affairs of not paying any attention to the Axis spy ring.

The Argentine press, one of the best in the world, is strongly pro-United Nations, in agreement with the majority of its readers. All the major cultural organizations, workers' syndicates, and student groups, have expressed democratic views. An important mass-meeting that received little attention in the United States press was held in Buenos Aires on September 20 to ask that relations with the Axis be broken. The five speakers who addressed the gathering were all ex-ministers of the republic: namely, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, a Conservative and winner of the Nobel peace prize in 1936; Julio Roca, also a Conservative and an ex-Vice-President; and the Radicals Jacinto Bioy, Tomás Lebreton, and Honorio Pueyrredón. Mass support of the United Nations has also taken a practical form. A Buenos Aires committee has already collected more than three million dollars, which has paid for sending four boatloads of food to Russia, three to England, and one to China, in the name of the Argentine democrats.

The presidential elections of 1944 offer the progressives their first opportunity to get rid of Castillo. Each group has already begun its political maneuvering. The Conservatives vacillate between the president of the Senate, Robustiano Patrón Costas, and the Minister of Instruction, Gustavo Rothe, who is of German descent and the "man behind Castillo." On the surface both are for "neutrality," but in practice they are pro-fascist. The Radicals are having a moment of confusion. No one man has come out of their ranks capable of succeeding Irigoyen or Alvear. The man who seemed best fitted to lead them, the ex-Governor of Córdoba, Sabattini, is now neutral because his leader, Irigoyen, was neutral in the last great war. Sabattini may therefore be discarded. Damonte Taborda is strongly pro-Ally but extremely young.

In the confusion a powerful presidential possibility has arisen in the person of General Agustín P. Justo, another ex-Radical, who attained the Presidency in the sham election of 1932. Justo wants the people to forget his old sins and take him again to their hearts. Knowing their sentiments, he has declared himself in favor of the democracies and of breaking with the Axis, and has offered his sword to the Brazilian government. He has a large following in that half of the Conservative Party that sympathizes with the United Nations. But Justo wants the support of the Radicals, who have no good presidential candidate of their own. Rebuilding his old ties, he has persuaded the delegations from Mendoza and Santa Fe to propose him indirectly as a candidate, and each day he spreads his snares farther among those he persecuted in 1932.

The Socialists also favor Justo, since they know they have no chance at all of electing their own candidate. They would like a platform of National Union identified with a man like the ex-Minister Pinedo, who upon his return from a visit to the United States said the two countries should act in accord. But they know that this is theory, and that in practice Justo, at the head of a democratic coalition pledged to break relations with the Axis, would be virtually invincible.

Though Castillo might defeat a Radical candidate in civilian dress, or a Socialist candidate, he would find it much harder to win against an ex-President of the republic who is in addition a general in the army, with friends in the armed forces and in the ranks of the Conservatives. The battle between Justo and Castillo has now begun. When General Tonnazzi, a friend of Justo's, resigned recently as Minister of War, Castillo may have been sounding out the military element. Slowly and surely Justo is driving in his rivets, trying to convince all groups that he is the candidate with the best chance of success.

Should Justo become President, Argentina's break with the Axis would be a certainty. And since Argentina's moral influence is very great throughout the continent, the break would have tremendous repercussions. It is well to remember that it was the Argentine armies, with San Martín at their head, that helped to bring freedom to Chile and Peru in the nineteenth century. It was an Argentine statesman, Drago, who, when a European fleet was threatening Venezuela, established the doctrine that debts cannot be collected by compulsion. The classical Argentine writers—Sarmiento, Mitre, Alberdi—are beloved in all our countries. It is a mistake to think that Brazil could supplant Argentina in its progressive role. Brazil has a different language, and its history has never been joined with ours. Argentina's press and radio cover the entire continent. Its tango and its movies are popular everywhere. Only Mexico exercises a similar dominating influence.

We Latin Americans do not want to see Argentina isolated; it is too much a part of our own physical and spiritual body. We do not want to see it threatened, for we cannot envision a solidarity based on threats or fear. We want Argentina on our side, pro-democratic and anti-fascist, as it really is.

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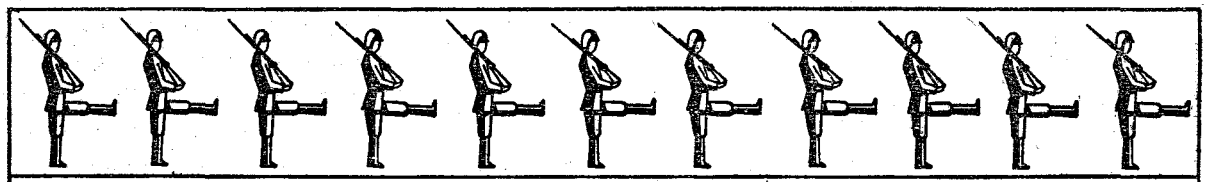

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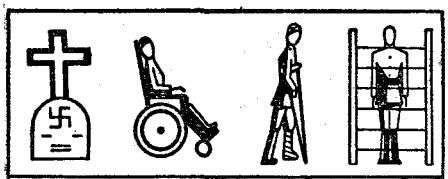

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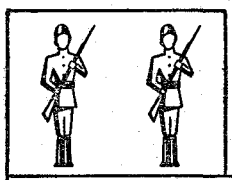

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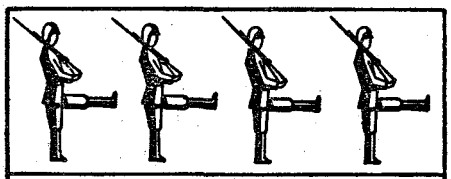

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Franz Boas

BY RUTH BENEDICT

FRANZ BOAS was a great scientist. Though he lived fifty-six years of his life in America, no one who knew him would think of speaking of him merely as a great American scientist. He was born in Germany of Jewish parents and was educated in Germany; he passed his adult life in America; but as an anthropologist he took the world for his province. A man of passionate loyalty to both Germany and the United States, he believed that the best good of any country can be attained only through the well-being of all countries. A scientist of immense learning, he probably knew better than any other man the differences among peoples; yet he was convinced that these differences needed only open-eyed and intelligent understanding to become the basis of world cooperation and fair dealing.

Franz Boas brought to the social sciences from his early training in physics and mathematics a mind sensitive to the necessity of framing scientific questions so that they could be answered by investigation. He brought also a conviction that most problems needed new, first-hand investigation and could not be answered by mere examination of existing knowledge. By pressing forward in the social sciences on the basis of these two rules, he laid the foundations of modern anthropology and was himself responsible for many of its greatest achievements. As a scientist he labored indefatigably and his integrity was unquestioned.

It was as a scientist, too, that he took up heavy responsibilities in the world outside the classroom. He never understood how it was possible to keep one's scientific knowledge from influencing one's attitudes and actions in the world of affairs. What he had learned by patient investigation and impersonal research helped him to make up his mind on the questions of the day; and for him it was as much a part of his scientific responsibility to make the application as to publish the detailed research. He collected and analyzed masses of data on the physical anthropology of primitive peoples and of New York City children, but that did not absolve him from condemning publicly the "Nordic nonsense" of Nazi Aryan theories and of race prejudice in the United States. His tireless investigation and recording of the ideas and acts of the Kwakiutl impressed upon him how many different patterns of living can command deep loyalty and enthusiasm from peoples brought up in them. All his studies of other cultures reinforced his conviction that cultural differences are vital and valuable. He believed the world must be made safe for differences.

He spoke out therefore against all efforts by Americans to set themselves up as arbiters of the world. In 1916, when the emotions of the war were running high, he rebuked the American who "claims that the form of his own government is the best, not for himself only, but also for the rest of mankind; that his interpretation of ethics, of religion, of standards of living is right." Such an American, he said, is mistakenly "inclined to assume the role of a dispenser of happiness to mankind" and to overlook the fact "that others may abhor where we worship." "I see no reason why we should not allow the Germans, Austrians, and Russians, or whoever else it may be, to solve their problems in their own ways instead of demanding that they bestow upon themselves the benefactions of our regime."

He made only one condition: "so long as any nation respects the individuality of other nations." A lack of such respect, whether it was shown by the degradation of a people to peonage or wage slavery, or by the humiliation of national groups, or by the arrogance of race prejudice, Boas believed to be a creeping sore that must be healed or it would infect and destroy the whole body politic. In his diagnosis, it was the cause of our ills today; rather than nationalism or capitalism or militarism as such, it was the object of his attack. He believed in the innate dignity of individual men and of groups of men, and he believed that this dignity could be realized when they were not humiliated and pushed about. "I can imagine myself much more at home in a company of sympathetic Chinese, Malays, Negroes, and whites who have interests and ideals in common than in a bigoted or presumptuous company of whites."

As an anthropologist he knew, too, that a fundamental attitude of respect for others is not simply a matter of individual ideals. Under certain arrangements of the social order respect for others cannot become general. He fought therefore against all "laws which favor the members of one nation at the expense of all other members of mankind"—though, as he said, "the very respect I have for the individuality of each nation implies that each has the right to maintain its individuality if it seems threatened by the course of human migration." He fought against all abrogation of civil liberties. He fought against all the conditions in our schools which limit intellectual freedom. Forty years ago he was working to further cultural understanding between the United States and the Far East, between the United States and Latin America. It seemed to him that ignorance of the way of life in

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other countries was breeding an indifference and callousness among nations which were becoming increasingly threatening as, with modern inventions and modern commerce, the world shrank to smaller and smaller dimensions.

He planned, back in 1902, a school for the study of the cultures of the Far East, a school which should not only conduct research but disseminate information about Asiatic peoples. "Our opportunities in the Far East," he said at that time, "will not become evident to us until we know what we have that is of value to the people in the Orient, and until we learn that they too have accomplished work which may become of value to us." To support the undertaking, he gathered together a group of men among whom were Jacob H. Schiff and Clarence H. Mackay. One anthropologist, the late Berthold Laufer, was sent to China for several years. But America was not yet ready to maintain such an institution as Franz Boas had hoped for. Unfortunately, the funds were not forthcoming.

In 1908 he tried to organize a center for pan-American cultural cooperation and research, the International School of Mexico. He raised money for it personally and spent a year teaching and doing research under its aegis. But again, the decade was not ready to support a center with this comprehensive scope. A week before he died he spoke of the failure of these attempts to further international cultural understanding. "Some things have been done," he said, "but we are handicapped because they are done so late."

The striking of the eleventh hour, however, was to him no reason for giving up the fight. In these last years he has been proud that his letters and articles were used by the underground in Germany, and he has never been too busy or too weak to help with his counsel. He had faith that among the generation now over forty in Germany there were many who were still democrats at heart, and with these he believed the United Nations could cooperate after the war. But he saw that it was necessary to keep in touch with them, and to let them know that they have strong comrades outside of Nazi Germany.

Throughout a long life Franz Boas kept faith with his ideals. He had an incomparable right to the title of elder statesman in science; yet he evoked more enthusiasm from the younger generation than from those closer to him in years. At eighty-four he had not sold out, or stultified himself, or locked himself in a dogmatic cage. He had set a standard of intensive scientific work in all fields of anthropology which no student could hope to match. After his retirement as head of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University in 1936 he only felt himself freer to work to preserve those ideals for which we are fighting today. He was a great man, and at this moment we have need of such as he.

In the Wind

REPUBLICAN LEADERS in Congress may vote against a continuation of the Dies committee. They are reported to feel that a committee headed by one of their own party members could serve a more useful purpose in the 1944 elections.

THE POLITICAL DEMAGOGY in Archduke Otto's attempts to assume the leadership of Austrians in this country emerges, according to a group of Austrian liberals, in the recruiting literature of Otto's Miltary Committee. A letter recently mailed from the committee's headquarters says that "volunteers, *whether ultimately accepted or not,* will receive free of charge a badge of honor which will mark them before the whole world as Austrian volunteers and as loyal fighters for liberty and democracy" (italics ours).

CONSTRUCTION WORK on army camps in this country is reliably reported to be at a virtual standstill. From now on much of the pre-combat training of American troops will be done at our overseas bases.

THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY, makers of Lucky Strike cigarettes, is advertising in Oregon and other Northwestern states a pipe tobacco called "Nigger Head." A number of Negro organizations are urging that protests be made to the company.

DR. J. FRANK NORRIS, a Detroit Baptist clergyman, recently delivered a sermon advertised in the newspapers under the title: "The Bureaucratic Price Fixing—the Mark of the Beast, One of the Sure Signs of the End of All Things and the Coming of Christ."

BECAUSE CERTAIN CHEMICALS used in munitions plants are injurious to the skin, British women workers in many plants are required to protect their faces with cosmetics. An inspection is held before every shift to determine whether they have enough make-up on. The cosmetics are supplied free by the government.

MRS. ROOSEVELT is still being plagued by the "Eleanor Club" stories, which she believes were started by Nazi agents. A current version has it that she constantly harasses Washington hotel-keepers by phoning to reserve rooms for Negroes.

NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS are still worried by one aspect of the recent drivers' strike. Several advertisers went on the radio while the papers were not being delivered and may continue to advertise through that medium.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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How to Speak to Japan

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

FROM the point of view of our experts on psychological warfare General Hideki Tojo's empire is by far the hardest nut to crack of all the Axis countries. The Japanese people are almost completely isolated from the outside world, both physically and psychologically.

Our first problem, then, is to make ourselves heard in Japan. Until we do this, the best propaganda in the world will have little or no effect there. At present we are beaming daily short-wave radio programs of news and commentaries to Japan. Two San Francisco transmitters are used for these broadcasts—KKEI, the 50-kilowatt station formerly run by General Electric, and KWID, a new station using 100 kilowatts. Our signal comes in strongly in most of eastern Asia. The trouble is that all of the nearly four million pre-war licensed radio receivers in Japan were built for medium-wave reception only, according to figures in the latest available "Japan-Manchoukuo Yearbook."

The Japanese have put some of their domestic programs on short-wave frequencies, indicating the existence of at least a few short-wave sets in outlying parts of the empire or among overseas troops. But in Japan proper our audience is probably limited to government monitors and a handful of private individuals who listen covertly by means of illegal short-wave sets. Consequently our present efforts are little more than exercises looking toward future propaganda warfare if and when conditions permit.

Japan's large medium-wave audience, however, could be reached from transmitters located at roughly the same distance from Japan as the points from which long-range bombing of the islands could be carried out. Vladivostok, which is only 800 miles from Japan's principal cities, would be an ideal location for a transmitter. It cannot be used now for obvious diplomatic reasons. Eastern China would be next best, and powerful medium-wave broadcasts from the outer Aleutians could be heard by at least some Japanese. Yet after a full year of war, so far as is known, we are still without an effective propaganda channel into Japan.

Ambassador Grew has pointed out that we could hardly expect to crack Japanese morale by propaganda alone, even if we were able to reach the radios of Japan. The people have been too long indoctrinated exclusively with the nationalistic precepts of Shinto and the whole *Kokutai* theology to be readily receptive to our message. Furthermore, as long as Japan is winning the war the effect of its victories will outweigh anything we can say on the radio. But if we could reach even a few thousand listeners in Japan proper we could lay the groundwork for an all-out propaganda offensive later, when the military tide has turned.

As for the content of our propaganda, the central issue, and the subject of heated verbal battles among experts on the Far East, is whether the Emperor should be immune from attack. One faction argues that while Hirohito is a figurehead and hence of little importance in his own right, the loyalty he commands is of the same order as that given by Catholics to the Pope. They maintain that to attack him would merely enrage the Japanese people and strengthen the present military regime; many see the further possibility that the present Emperor or his son might be used at some future time by the "opposition" in Japan in the same manner that the Emperor Meiji was used half a century ago in the overthrow of the feudal Shogunate.

The opposite point of view was expressed succinctly by A. Grajdanzev of the Institute of Pacific Relations in *Amerasia* last June: ". . . peace with Japan cannot be a peace with the Japanese Emperor. . . . Dethronement of the Emperor would be the death blow to the idea of his divinity and would destroy the meaning of the former system of indoctrination. . . . Remove the Emperor and the military clique, and the system will collapse."

Our government policy is based upon the former position. American broadcasts to Japan attack the ruling military clique but never the Emperor. The military counterpart of this official policy was embodied in General Doolittle's orders to his men not to drop bombs on or near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. There are good arguments on both sides, but our present policy would seem to be justified, at least at this stage of the war. When Japan is losing the war, there will be time enough to reconsider.

The details of our propaganda to Japan are a carefully guarded secret. It is known, however, that our broadcasts point out the fundamental antagonism between Germany and Japan, stress American military and productive power, and report war news in such a way as gradually to create confidence in our information service and reflect discredit upon the fantastic claims of the Japanese military. It is obvious that Japan's domestic propaganda is not adequately challenged by the various American arguments just cited. The Tokyo radio, in broadcasts

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made available by the Office of War Information, appeals constantly to the Japanese people's hatred and fear of the United States and Great Britain. Race issues particularly are emphasized, with frequent recitations of instances of discrimination against Orientals in this country and much stress on the exclusion of Asiatics under our immigration law of 1924. Exaggerated or wholly fictitious accounts of our "mistreatment" of evacuated Japanese-Americans are headlined. The war is blamed on our imperialistic desire to maintain white supremacy over East Asia. Instances of discrimination against progress in America are played up and interpreted as evidence of the hypocrisy of our democratic pretensions.

Japan no longer portrays this country as a weak, soft nation without fighting spirit, as was the case during the first few months of war. Japan's armed forces are still described as invincible, but only if the people on the home front work harder and make greater sacrifices. On the anniversary of Pearl Harbor Radio Tokyo told Japan that "America and Britain are the most powerful nations in the world." Kazuo Aoki, head of the Greater East Asia Ministry, said, "This is a war of life or death." Such statements closely resemble Dr. Goebbels's recent attempts to instil a desperate, last-ditch mood in the German people.

The best answer we could make to Japan's appeal to racial hatred would be action proving that the Japanese propagandists are wrong. The indiscriminate internment of all Nisei (American citizens of Japanese parentage) makes us extremely vulnerable, for example, in view of our government's liberal treatment of Italian citizens and even of Germans resident in America. We can best correct this by rapidly releasing the Nisei who are found on investigation to be loyal Americans, while keeping in custody Japanese citizens and Kibei (Japanese-Americans educated in Japan) unless they are known to be harmless. This process is already under way, but it should be speeded up and publicized—especially in propaganda aimed at Japan and East Asia.

Appeals to a pro-democratic minority in Japan will be useless for some time to come because no real tradition of democracy as we know it exists in Japan. Propaganda emphasizing the hardships of war will be equally ineffective, for the Japanese are used to hardships and find them challenging rather than discouraging. On the other hand, Japan's superstitions and its characteristic fear of ridicule may be used to good advantage if our propagandists understand the Japanese mind well enough. Some of the best talent for this sort of psychological warfare is still lying fallow in the Japanese relocation camps in the Western states.

The only adequate answer to Japan's "win or die" propaganda is to assure the Japanese that they will not be destroyed as a nation if they are defeated. This, however, must wait upon the formulation of a post-war program which is barely beginning to take shape. When we do have something positive to offer the Japanese, we should present it coldly and realistically. We should not disguise the incontrovertible necessity of ending once and for all the rule of the Japanese military machine, of stripping the country of offensive weapons, and of restoring all territories which Japan has annexed, including Korea and Formosa and, of course, Manchuria, to their former status. Any attempt to sugarcoat our post-war program would be interpreted as a sign of weakness and hypocrisy by the Japanese.

At the same time, Japan must be made to understand that if it overthrows the present military rulers and establishes some form of representative government it will be guaranteed full national sovereignty; that it will not be required to pay impossible reparations; and that it will be welcomed as a full-fledged member of a world federation organized to guard against future wars and to provide for a just distribution of raw materials among all nations, in a free world market.

Paraguayan Paradox

BY SILVA BERTO

PARAGUAY, smallest of South America's republics, was the first one to break off relations with the Axis. That it should do so at all came as something of a shock to its people, for the small group of self-styled "revolutionaries" who run the country is outspokenly and uncompromisingly anti-democratic.

Following the Nazi pattern, they have established a Ministry of Propaganda which controls the press, the radio, all educational and scientific institutions, and even lectures, meetings, and the theater. *El Nacionalista,* the newspaper edited by Manuel Bernades, a secretary of the President, sets the style for the press. Hailed by his friends as the leader of Paraguayan National Socialism, Bernades prints articles flaying England, the United States, and the Allied cause in general. Since the liberal daily *El Pais* was forced to change its policy and to accept as its editor Marcus Fuster, another of the President's secretaries, there has not been an articulate opposition. Foreign newspapers cannot be distributed without permission; even the Buenos Aires *La Nacion* is subject to confiscation.

However, the people of Paraguay have not so far succumbed to the propaganda. A sizable police force with an active Bureau of Investigations has to be kept on the job. To augment its ranks a school for police cadets has been founded under the protection of the well-known adventurer Rolando degli Uberti, who plans to turn out a Nazi S.S. in miniature. At Pena-Hermosa is the only concentration camp in South America in which a country interns its own nationals. Behind its walls men and

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women from all ranks of society can now be found—doctors, lawyers, students, workers, employers, even a few dissenting army officers.

But perhaps the strangest paradox is the position of the German colonies. Numerically and financially the most powerful minority in the country, they are still under Gestapo supervision and are run by their own Gauleiter. The Colegio Aleman, the Banco Germanico, and similar institutions are conducting business as usual, with no fear that the open break with the Axis will change anything. As a result Paraguay has become a refuge for all kinds of shady conspirators—Nazi fugitives from other countries, spies, and saboteurs. The frontiers of Paraguay are wide; and with German colonies situated at strategic points, it is easy to slip from one country to another.

In this atmosphere such an organization of democrats as the "Society of the Allied Nations" finds the going pretty rough. When not long ago it held a meeting in honor of the United States, and students dared to cheer the Mexican ambassador's reference to Allied leaders and democratic victory, the meeting was allowed to proceed, but next day the chief offenders were arrested and sent to Pena-Hermosa. The fact that the struggling society exists at all appears to be Paraguay's only answer to United States loans and Rockefeller grants.

Democracy at Its Best

Uruguay, on the other hand, is proving itself a fighting democracy. The new vice-president, Alberto Guani, who showed his mettle during his term as Foreign Minister, has learned something from the course of events in Europe during the last ten years. He knows that fascism cannot be conciliated—that it must be annihilated.

A week after the elections the new government proceeded to take action against the trouble-makers in the ranks of the defeated pro-Nazi Herrerista Party. The Tribunal for National Defense, presided over by the distinguished Judge Julio de Gregorio, gave the order for a raid on the "Patria y Orden," the Herreristas' main clubhouse. The literature seized on that occasion showed that under the cloak of the Herreristas, the Nazi-patterned groups which the Uruguayan government had brought to trial two years ago were again in full swing. As a result of the raid dozens of the Herreristas' most active members were arrested, among them Alejandro Gallinal Herbert, son of Uruguay's wealthiest landowner, a man who has always regarded himself as beyond the reach of the law.

Uruguay seems to have decided to abandon the pretense of "freedom for all"—fascists included—which has wrecked so many democratic countries, and to adhere to the sound principle of "compulsory democracy."

POST-MORTEM

When they heard the word that Darlan had been shot, most American radio listeners had one thought—"a De Gaullist, a French patriot." A few moments later questions may have arisen in their minds. But from the point of view of psychological warfare, it was that first reaction that counted. In that spontaneous impulse of relief lay the condemnation of a policy that has offended every liberal capable of thinking for himself.

On the other hand, the attempt still being made by certain newspapers and officials to defend the deal in North Africa shows that, should another similar situation arise, another Darlan might again be accepted as its solution. And so it is not to resurrect the past but rather to anticipate the future that we add here a word about Darlan and Darlanism.

Whether or not it was a "popular court martial" that put an end to the life of the French Quisling in Algiers, that was the fate ultimately awaiting him as it awaits all of his breed. The advocates of "expediency," and the more dangerous and subtle advocates of a new balance of power, may go on setting up all the Darlans they can collect. Left to themselves, the peoples of Europe will take care of them. But from that fact arises the most important question we have to face: Will Americans permit the immense power of their country to be used against the peoples in their fight to overthrow all the Darlan regimes that bar the road to real liberation? The fortuitous death of one fascist French official does not provide the answer to that question.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WHAT are the Germans hearing about America these days? A year ago the emphasis was on this country's moral turpitude. It was asserted constantly that the Americans were solely to blame for the war. Then came the months in which the new opponent failed to make an appearance in Europe and suffered blow after blow in the Pacific. The leit-motif during this time was scorn of America's impotence and of its loud-mouthed boasts about its "astronomical" production program. Lately, since North Africa, a different tone has been used. There has been a show of objectivity, with frequent references to America's strength, though at the same time its weaknesses have been carefully underscored.

The new line was authoritatively introduced on December 15 in a radio address by the leading commentator Hans Fritsche. "It would be the greatest mistake," he declared, "to dismiss the war effort of the United States

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with a contemptuous shrug of the shoulders." He himself, he insisted, was completely free from prejudice; he did not want to seem dogmatic; but he felt obliged to say that if the American program were examined closely, it appeared to be mostly bluff. Take the so-called records in shipbuilding. "A certain Henry Kaiser," he said, "was astonishing the childishly credulous North Americans by the speed with which he was building ships; he was continually reducing, first, the number of months needed, then the weeks, and finally the days. The outside world snickered, for it understood the kind of tricks he was using. When Kaiser held up his accomplishments as a model to the British and criticized their slowness, the patience of certain English newspapers snapped, and they blurted out that it was just fooling people to spend a long period prefabricating the sections of a ship and then announce they had been put together in record time."

American production in every field is deprecated in the same way. Germans are not told that America is doing nothing but simply that it is not producing in the tremendous amounts reported, that it is producing less, in fact, than is being turned out in Germany plus the rest of Europe plus Greater East Asia.

And what about America's actual instrument for war—its army? Have the Americans been able to create an army capable of an assault on the European fortress? The set type of answer to this question was indicated on December 1 by General Dittmar, regular military expert of the German radio. The General's objectivity was striking. He was generous with his praise. "From our experience in World War I," he said, "we esteem highly the fighting qualities of the American soldier. He showed stubbornness in defense and dash and contempt for danger in the attack. . . . He loved daring adventures and had great personal pluck, the heritage of pioneer times." Moreover, the United States is much better prepared than it was in 1917. "Since the outbreak of the war it has been supplying our enemies and is therefore better organized for war than it was then."

But after admissions like these had convinced his hearers of the speaker's scrupulous objectivity, the "howevers" appeared. The Americans, however, cannot put a strong enough army in the field to contend against Germany. Under the exceptionally favorable conditions of the First World War they were able to send a maximum of 250,000 men a month to Europe only because "for weeks and months" they sent them over "without arms or equipment. They transported only men, neglecting everything else—artillery, horses, food, even airplanes. These hastily dispatched troops were for a long time dependent for equipment on what could be provided by the Entente powers." Today the shipping situation is "immeasurably worse," as a result of the submarine warfare and the losses inflicted by the Japanese. And America has now no allies in Europe who can fit out its army. The little offensive in North Africa has bogged down because sufficient supplies could not be transported.

The troops America does succeed in bringing over will lack something else that was a decisive factor in the First World War. "Today America's allies have no veteran troops in Europe behind which the green American units can be assembled, acclimatized, and trained. And a favorable base on French soil no longer exists. If the United States wants to make its weight felt in Europe today, it must first establish a front by fighting. And it must do the fighting itself."

Finally, though the American troops of 1918 deserved respect, they were rated only second class even then. "The men from the United States were good fighters but by no means good soldiers. The officers of all ranks were —and are—unpracticed, lacking agility, little capable of making decisions. They reflected the absence of a military tradition in their country." In no respect has any improvement been effected since then. Indeed, there has been a fundamental deterioration—and for racial reasons. "There have been great changes in the American people since 1918. The influx of alien elements at the turn of the century, through the immigration of non-Nordic peoples, is affecting the military worth of the whole nation." Germans can be quite sure that "we are superior to the Americans."

Such are the elaborate and specious arguments used of late to allay German anxiety about America. With their one-sixth of truth, two-sixths of falsehood, and three-sixths of omission, they certainly make more skilful propaganda than last year's coarse insults. But that is incidental. What is significant is that a change was thought necessary. America's prestige in Germany was always very high, especially in the technical and industrial field, and its entrance into the war caused widespread depression. It should have been apparent from the first that this feeling went too deep to be combated by stupid name-calling. After North Africa a new stimulant was palpably necessary. The daring experiment of adding a few drops of pseudo-objectivity to the dose was at least worth trying.

"Collaboration"

AN ELDERLY Dutchwoman was arrested for listening to B. B. C. broadcasts. When haled before the magistrate she pleaded: "The Führer said he would be in London in June, 1940. Since then I've listened every day to make sure I wouldn't miss what he said when he got there."

Complaining of the lack of cooperation of many educational institutions, the *Nationalsocialisten,* a Danish Nazi paper, points to the municipal library at Regaards Alle, where the catalogue card for National Socialism reads "See Nazism"—and the "Nazism" card reads "See Concentration Camps."

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German Leadership in Exile

THE POLITICAL VALUE OF THE EMIGRATION

IN THE Political War section for December 5 a German anti-Nazi contributor discussed in rather pessimistic terms the political value of the German emigration. He concluded his analysis with four questions which he suggested might be used as a basis for further comment. We publish below the replies of several distinguished refugees of varying views. In a later issue we shall present the opinions of others who have expressed their interest in the subject of the debate. The questions follow:

1. What forces in Germany—besides the Nazi Party—do you consider a menace to the peace of the world and to the freedom of the German people? How would you propose to deal with these forces?
2. Are you for a unilateral disarming of Germany and the policing and reeducating of the German people from outside?
3. Are the German people responsible for the material damage caused by Hitler's armies in the occupied countries? Are they under moral obligation to make restitution?
4. What kind of relations do you advocate between post-Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union?

A Socialist Solution

I am glad of the opportunity to answer the four questions posed by your contributor. But I should like first to take exception to one of his statements, namely, that none of the political groups of the emigration are squarely facing the fact that the fight against Hitler is a fight on the issue of a new social and economic order. One group—the Association of Free Germans—does recognize this, as is evidenced by its recently published program for post-war Germany.

Question 1: The other forces in Germany which threaten the peace of the world and the freedom of the German people are the army, heavy industry, and what is left of the landed aristocracy. The army must be got rid of permanently this time. There must be no repetition of the aftermath of 1918, when, for example, the French generals of the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission, instead of carrying out the military provisions of the Treaty of Versailles—which would have helped the German Republic to function as a civil democracy—played along with the German generals because they feared that German disarmament might lead to universal disarmament, which would have put them in the discard.

Question 2: Yes, I am in favor of a unilateral disarming of Germany. I am also in favor of the international policing of Germany, provided each police contingent has at its head an American top sergeant. As for reeducation, I advocate that the supervision of educational institutions and the revision of textbooks be in the hands of an international body, but that the actual work be left to German democratic educators.

Question 3: No, not entirely. I believe that the responsibility of the German army and the German people ought to be shared in some degree by the appeasers in other countries who for many years stood idly by while Hitler prepared for the present war. Sometimes they went so far as actually to support him, because they swallowed his line about saving Europe from the menace of bolshevism.

Question 4: Since I am not in favor of reinstating every European country in its sovereignty, but hope rather for a post-war settlement which will look to the creation of a United States of Europe, I do not believe that any one country should take an independent position on relations with the Soviet Union. If, however, a European federation should not be created, I definitely favor the best possible relations between Germany and Russia, provided they are based on the democratic principle of noninterference in each other's domestic affairs. I am still of the opinion that the Weimar Republic made a wise move when it recognized the Soviet Union as early as 1921.

GERHARD SEGER

A Liberal Catholic Answer

Question 1: There are three recognizable forces in Germany, besides the Nazi Party, which constitute a menace to world peace and to the freedom of the German people. They are, first, the great landowners of eastern Germany who furnished the old Prussian state with its officials and its army officers; second, the industrialists who encouraged Hitler's rise to power in order to do away with the social reforms of the Weimar Republic and to preserve for themselves the profits of a vast rearmament program; third, the intellectuals of the pan-German school.

The first group could be liquidated by converting the great agricultural estates of the Prussian nobility into

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peasant-owned cooperatives. By socializing Germany's heavy industries within the framework of a political regime that guarantees collective security, the industrialists can be stripped of their power. As for the pan-Germans, their influence must be destroyed by thorough educational reform.

Question 2: The unilateral disarming of the aggressor nations should be only a first step in the abolition of all national armed forces with a view to creating an international police force for the preservation of world peace. In the long run the policing and reeducating of the German people can be accomplished only by Germans themselves. There will be a transition period during which help and support from abroad will be required, but this should be in the hands of civilian authorities even if the country is under military occupation.

Question 3: We must discriminate between moral and political responsibility. Hitler, his followers, and his backers are morally responsible, but the German people as a whole bear the political responsibility. That there is an obligation to make restitution to the occupied countries cannot be denied, but a way should be found to lay the burden on those morally responsible for the damage. Furthermore, since the Nazis and Quislings of the occupied countries share the blame with the German Nazis and their army, they too must be made to pay.

Question 4: The relations between post-Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union should be no different from those between Germany and the other United Nations. The German democracy of the future must seek the friendship and collaboration of all the peoples of the world. In the case of Russia, there are common economic interests which should serve to strengthen this cooperation.

WERNER THORMANN

From an Independent Democrat

Question 1: The Nazis did not rise out of hell. They are the friends and accomplices of the German imperialists; and are trying to finish what was begun in 1914. The Nazis conquered Germany by the same methods which they applied, successfully in the beginning, in their struggle for world domination. The Nazis and Junkers cannot be judged separately. Their goal is the same. The Junkers, their sons the generals, and their brothers-in-law the big industrialists, are potentially even more dangerous than the Nazis, for they can enlist sympathy at levels of society where the Nazis are doomed to fail. For the sake of European security, and the freedom of the German people which is essential to it, they must be expropriated. It is unlikely that the job can be done peacefully, through the abolition of tariffs and similar means. It can be achieved only through a true German revolution.

Question 2: The kind of disarmament established after the last war gave the Freikorps the opportunity to kill the revolution, while the Reichswehr became the center of all anti-republican activities. The Reichswehr created, financed, and armed the Nazis who killed the republic. After the present war Germany must, of course, be disarmed, but that is not enough. Fascism must be disarmed and the causes of its rise eliminated once and for all.

The German people must be given a chance for repentance and reeducation. But just preaching the word will have little meaning. The methods of American democracy cannot simply be superimposed on countries where its antecedents do not exist. The pedagogic value of an occupying army is very doubtful; German youth would profit more from an opportunity to enjoy education in civilized countries.

Question 3: The German people never gave Hitler a majority in a free election. Hitler's plebiscite majorities of 99 per cent were falsified by terror and other means. But none the less the German people did not resist Hitler adequately. Therefore they share the moral guilt of the Nazis. But the principle which decrees that the vanquished must pay has little relation to the question of guilt. The damage that has been done is so great as to be largely irreparable. What Germany can do is to cooperate in the rebuilding of Europe, putting into the effort all its ability and man-power. But it should not be made to pay a new crop of reparations profiteers.

Question 4: Germany's and Europe's attitude toward Russia will depend, among other things, upon Russia's own development. An Asiatic form of socialism is not suitable for European countries. A post-war German democracy will collaborate with all the forces working for peace. But no solution of the German problem can be found except through a solution of the European problem, and vice versa. For both problems I see only one practical and hopeful solution—a United States of Europe.

J. A. GUMBEL

A Counsel of Pessimism

In attempting to answer your correspondent, I must start by saying that if I interpret his article correctly, I think he misunderstands the situation in nearly every respect.

First, we must not confuse "emigrants" with "exiles" or "refugees." According to Webster, the difference is that only the latter want to return to the country from which they fled. The truth is that the overwhelming majority of those Germans who have come to America or to England since 1933 now regard themselves as "emigrants" in the classical sense, just like their predecessors in 1848. Nothing but the sheer impossibility of making a living in the new country could persuade them ever to return to the old. Fundamentally their approach to all German problems is that of members of the outside world

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and no longer of Germany itself. I think the percentage of refugees—even of so-called "political" refugees—who in utter disgust or pessimism have written off their old allegiance and transformed themselves into genuine emigrants is incomparably larger in the case of the Germans than of any other European nationality.

But the small remaining percentage would have to be sifted still further to find a residue who are prepared to accept your correspondent's view that "the fight against Hitler is a fight on the issue of socialism." Personally I do not share this opinion by any means. While this interpretation seems to gain some ground in the world in general, the very opposite is going on in the minds of those who know most about German conditions. The fact of the matter is that Hitlerism itself has instituted socialism in Germany. I am fully aware of how strange this must sound to many ears, but I venture to say that in a few years it will be a commonplace that in the economic field Hitlerism amounted to socialism. Although the famous word "expropriation" has been avoided, the "means of production" have been completely seized by "society," that is, the state. While nominally private property exists, it has virtually been abrogated by superimposing upon it the overlordship of the state, which controls and operates the whole apparatus. If tomorrow your correspondent were to succeed Hitler and set about making the country socialist, he would discover that in the economic sphere practically everything had already been done.

What he would have to change would be something entirely different: the human aims in the service of which this economic machinery is being operated. The spirit would have to be changed. And this reveals the crucial point! Hitlerism has finally proved that the mere fact of economic socialization does not in itself mean anything. If it is not practiced in the necessary human spirit, socialism is likely to be even worse than its predecessor. To create and guarantee this radically different spirit is the real task—and it is a task entirely separate from and independent of any economic transformation. That is why I believe that an organization conceived in conventional leftist terms would not gain many adherents. Of the small percentage of real exiles comparatively few would subscribe to your correspondent's pre-condition.

Even in this narrow group it would be difficult to find that "common platform" which he envisages. There is one very serious practical obstacle—the incomparably different weight of the Communist and Socialist partners to such a compromise. It is clear that the former will never be free agents expressing their own opinions, but are exponents of the superior and changeable will of a government. Would not the presumptive Socialist partners shrink from a coalition of such crushing inequality? But that is not all. In these two varieties of socialism, democracy and totalitarianism are in conflict. This does not necessarily exclude compromises and common platforms. But compromises are usually effected for an immediate purpose, where definite circumstances and definite relations of strength between the partners prevail. A compromise based on the assumptions of some future moment, whose accompanying circumstances no one can now foresee, would be, I think, quite as difficult to arrange between conflicting varieties of the left as between any other groups.

Let us go farther. Suppose that everything were to succeed—the association, the establishment of a leadership, and the elaboration of that mature compromise platform for a people's peace in and for Germany. I am sure that even then the whole thing would flatly miss its purpose. It would not have the slightest effect on the Germans in Germany. Never in history has there been so water-tight a partition between exiles and their home people as in the German case today. What matters more is that no "masses" on earth can be set in motion and "inspired with confidence" by papers, resolutions, and programs. What inspires confidence is human beings they know and trust, or power on which they can depend. In the whole German emigration—on the left as well as in the center or on the right—there is not one person among the pre-Hitler politicians who could still attract the Germans in any degree. Nor is it possible technically or spiritually to foist upon the German mind from abroad any new, unknown, and untested successors. The same applies to the former political parties. The "ignominious capitulation" of all the anti-Nazi parties of which your correspondent so rightly speaks has left even deeper marks than he seems to realize.

What will determine Germany's course will either be home-brewed—and it may be a very nasty brew, by the way—or it will be suggested or imposed under the authority and prestige of the victorious nations. But nothing labeled the product of any coalition of exiles whatsoever will have a market. The very fact that this is its source will make it unsalable.

The German exiles must resign themselves to the fact that the scepter has passed into other hands. Any attempt to play a role of their own, an independent and direct role, during and after Hitler's dislodgment, will be vain. Their special knowledge and ideas can make themselves felt in an indirect way only, by being placed at the service of the Allied governments. The intellectuals and politicians can inform, explain, warn, suggest. It may well be that a number of today's exiles, returning to Germany after Hitler's downfall, will have a function to perform there. As *hommes de confiance*, backed by and representing America, or Britain, or the Soviet Union, some of them may play an extremely useful, and some a rather harmful, role. What matters here is that no one will be able to play a role of his own.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE GREEK HISTORIANS

BY GILBERT HIGHET

THERE they stand, in the inviolability of classicism and the monumental dignity of two thousand years. It is difficult to approach them closely enough to see them clearly. We have to make an effort—not to cross the gulf of time, for they are in many ways easier to understand than our own recent ancestors, but to convince ourselves that they are accessible, that they can be inspected and criticized, rightly blamed and truly praised. We assume that they are great, which is true; and that their greatness means that they are faultless, which is false.

They have their faults. Herodotus is garrulous. Thucydides chops logic. Xenophon is pedestrian. They are all honest, as few historians have been since their day, and their honesty makes them a little ingenuous, unafraid of the obvious. They do not struggle to impress their readers. They have an uncomfortable power to make us aware of our own bad taste. But they do not leave us ashamed, or disgusted, or cynical. To read them enlarges the spirit.

One of the main difficulties in the way of understanding them is that their methods need some explanation.

Herodotus, for instance, realized that history must cover the *whole* of a world process. It takes in military, political, economic, religious, cultural, ethnological, climatic, and geographical events, along with folklore and biography and everything else human. Few historians, and not many politicians, have understood that. We are being told every morning, as if it were an exciting discovery, that the various parts of the world are politically and geographically interconnected. But Herodotus understood that the unity of the world is deeper than mere politics and geography. At the same time, he was more aware of the differences and conflicts between its parts than many geopoliticians and globalists of today. When he set out to tell the story of that great and vital war, the Persian invasion of the Greek world, he treated it as part of the conflict between East and West. Therefore he described, as far as was necessary and possible for his readers, the whole of the East and West.

Because he did it, and did it so richly and simply, we tend to take it for granted. We have hardly anything to compare it with except Gibbon. But only a Herodotus could have given us a real history of the Crusades; or of the white invasion of America, with its Indian wars and massacres and conversations, from Argentina to Alaska; or of the rise of Christianity. Our lack of these histories shows us what we owe to him and to the Greek tradition of which he was a part.

That has to be explained first. New readers of Herodotus think he is rambling. He is not. He is trying to get all that heterogeneous and yet interconnected mass of data into one book. A modern author would do it in two or three books. Suppose he conceived a history of the Indian wars. He would write it in four different books: one for the Inca empire, one for the Aztecs, one for the other Central and South American Indians, and one for the Indians north of Mexico. Having thus split up his material, he would subdivide it further. There would be an appendix on the Asiatic origin of the Amerindians; another on the Mayas; another on Catholicism in Latin America; an excursus on the Jesuit administration in Paraguay; and so forth. Then there would be voluminous footnotes, or possibly backnotes, gathered together in a lump at the end and numbered 1 to 8,367. These would take up Algonquin religion, Mayan sculpture, Peruvian chronology, and God knows what. The author would thus insure that the subject and the reader would both be exhausted. The result would be, not a work of art, not even a book, but a multiple-floored department store.

Herodotus, with Greek good taste, determined to write a book: to make something which would be worthy of a good artisan and artist. Therefore it must be a unity, and at the same time contain all the richness of its various elements. He made his subject one by penetrating through the diversity of data to the fundamental facts behind them: *hoc opus, hic liber est!* What he saw was the political conflict between East and West; behind that, the moral conflict of Greek reason and moderation with Oriental passion and extravagance; and behind that, the religious distinction between God and man. He began and ended the book, naively and at first sight casually, with two shocking stories of Oriental lust and violence and perversion. They are interesting stories, nevertheless. The first tells how the king of Lydia, proud of his wife's beauty, hid his lieutenant, Gyges, behind the bedroom door so that he could see her naked. The other tells how the Persian empress caught one of her rivals, cut off her nose, her lips, her ears, and her breasts, and threw them to the dogs. Both stories are utterly un-Greek; but both are memorable enough (Gautier rewrote the first into an excellent short story), and both make the same moral without stating it directly. Between these little anecdotes stretches the huge story of the origin, growth, power, arrogance, and fall of the Persian empire. One introduces it, and with the other it closes. It requires the peculiar spiritual blindness of today not to realize that such an arrangement is meant to have a profoundly *moral* effect, and forms a unity out of the hundred different aspects of Herodotus's subject matter. This is only one example of the device, which recurs again and again; and this is only one of many such devices.

But we are blind nowadays. We believe that history can be written as "facts," without a moral intention or effect, whereas, even if a historian tries to write without a moral attitude, his work will still have a moral effect of some kind. (One odd example of this "scientific" confusion is Marx, who stated the principle that people were dominated by economic motives and therefore not dominated by morality, and yet indulged in the most fervently moral diatribes against the rich, whom he accused of behavior which, on his own principles, was perfectly natural and inevitable, and therefore right.) It is, nevertheless, this moral grandeur which we

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feel, however dimly, in reading the Greek historians; just as a person ignorant of music apprehends something of symphonic form when he hears a great and simple symphony. We are aware of the diversity; yet we feel something larger making it into a unity. If we read the entire work, the impact it makes on our minds is perfectly single. It is difficult to write like that: one must have a particular type of mind, and a particular tradition and method, to do it.

Once the method of the Greek historians has been explained, their aims and their achievement become much clearer and much greater. But scholars are reluctant to explain such things, while lesser folk cannot know them by the light of nature. How many Latin teachers have tried to convince their classes that Caesar was a historian full of excitement and fascination, when in fact he was deliberately not writing history—which is emotional—but the bare scientific groundwork of history, and was therefore trying not to be exciting and emotional? Similarly, it is exceptional to find an editor or commentator who points out the obvious fact that Thucydides puts the tremendous tragedy of the disastrous Athenian invasion of Sicily directly after the debate between the Athenian representatives and the Melians, in which the right of the stronger is asserted with implacable logic. In itself the Melian "incident" was small—certainly not worth all those chapters, all that reasoning. As a symptom it was terribly significant. Most of these facts, then, are obvious; but since we are blind, they must be pointed out.

Professor Francis Godolphin of Princeton has brought out a robust two-volume collection of the Greek historians in translation.* The translations themselves are competent without being inspired—Rawlinson's Herodotus and Jowett's Thucydides. The binding and printing of the two volumes—uniform with the same publishers' "Greek Tragedians" and "Latin Dramatists"—are good, if undistinguished. There are large indexes to each author, an appendix containing several smaller works of capital importance, and, as far as I could see, one map only. Professor Godolphin has contributed a twenty-six-page preface in which he discusses the nature of history and the four chief historians whose works follow. It is full of truths: for example, "We may wonder whether some classical archaeologists' passion for the exact measurement of every potsherd may not be a pseudo-scientific delusion. . . . It may be that much which can be measured, and hence appears to be a scientific occupation today, is really less important than the written records which can convey human insights and aspirations together with an expression of the values and limitations of human life." I found it most interesting, myself, and stimulating. Only I think it is not addressed to a Random House public. It is above the heads of undergraduates; it is much too complex for the average extra-mural buyer; and it is not quite suited for a learned reader. It would have been better to write a separate exposition of each of these very different authors, as well as the general preface on the type of history they were writing; and possibly to add notes which should bring them together, showing their dependence on one another, their similarities, and their differences. We should be grateful to have the text of these great historians so well arranged and indexed. But if they were to be explained at all, they should have been explained more fully.

The average man, who is anxious to learn but spent too much time on "activities" in school to read many books, may buy this work and settle down to read through it. He will automatically tackle the historians in it as if they were modern writers, and apply today's standards to Herodotus and Thucydides. Since our standards are lower than theirs, they will lose in the process. He will hurt them and himself. I wish that Professor Godolphin had added a detailed introduction to each of the four main authors, describing their principles and methods and the structure of their books. Taking them straight, the average reader is apt to choke. At best, he will read them with a half-awakened admiration for their greatness, like Mr. Boffin listening to "Decline and Fall Off the Rooshan Empire": "staring with his eyes and mind, and so severely punished that he could hardly wish his literary friend Good-night."

* "The Greek Historians." Edited by Francis R. B. Godolphin. Random House. Two Volumes. $5.

The Intelligent Man's Burden

WARNING TO THE WEST. By Shridharani. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

SHRIDHARANI'S new volume is hardly as significant as his recently published "My India, My America," which won the instant acclaim of the American reading public, but it contains some very good writing. The various essays in the volume are not too well organized, and some of them are no more than occasional journalism. The unity of the volume is achieved by the consistent resentment, expressed in all of them, against the white man's arrogance. Shridharani, like most Indians, has no illusions about the purpose and ambitions of Japan. He is quite certain that Japan would fasten an even more vexatious tyranny upon the Orient than that of the "white Sahib." But even while calling the attention of the West to the fact that resentment against the white man's arrogance has been one of Japan's most potent weapons in the Orient, the author, like many of his compatriots with similar sentiments and convictions, cannot completely throttle or hide an occasional mood of satisfaction over Japan's success in kicking the superior white man in the pants.

The revelation of the depth of Oriental resentment against the pride of the West is probably the greatest value of the book. Not that this is a new revelation. We have known it all along. But we do not know it inwardly; and our pride has not been qualified or mitigated by it. It is, in fact, becoming apparent that even if we succeed in solving every other vexing problem in international relations, we shall probably not solve the problem of ethnic friction in time to save the world from further catastrophe.

Shridharani is not always profound in dealing with the problem of racial prejudice. He makes the ridiculous assertion for instance that "there is no race problem save in the mind of the white man." It is an understandable but nevertheless pathetic illusion of minority or exploited groups, whether Jewish, Negro, or Oriental, that the sins of racial bigotry from which they suffer are the exclusive evils of their tormentors. The illusion is understandable, for it may be too

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much to expect victims of one particular form of pride to be conscious of their own analogous, though less potent or successful, forms of it. The illusion is nevertheless pathetic; and it prevents a fully mature approach to the problem of racial friction.

In the case of India it is particularly foolish to make such a charge. For the deep chasm between Hindu and Moslem is racial as well as cultural and religious; and the caste system of India, the most rigid form of class snobbishness in history, is not without its racial overtones or undertones. Furthermore, Shridharani can scarcely conceal the fact that his own resentment against white arrogance is partly prompted by the fact that he considers himself a member of the white race who has been excluded from it because "the tropical sun may have imparted pigmentation to the skin of the Indo-Aryan." He insists that the "white man has denied membership in the white group to millions of Asia's whites. Driven into another grouping they are too proud to deny their color classification." Which means that they are not too proud to resent with special vigor prejudice against superficial color which obscures basic racial affinities.

All this gives us no excuse. It is an obvious fact that the white man's genius in developing a technical civilization has exaggerated the natural pride which he shares with all racial groups to the point where it will destroy his otherwise high contribution to the community of nations. That is why it is important to have men like Shridharani, who can express resentment eloquently, speak to us. But they might speak even more effectively if they understood the depth of the problem of ethnic friction.

One of the most interesting chapters in Shridharani's book reproduces the correspondence, hitherto unpublished here, between the Japanese poet Noguchi and Tagore. The Japanese man of letters seeks to persuade the greatest of Indian poets to accept the Japanese "new order." Tagore answers Noguchi's implausible pretensions with such honesty and sincerity and with such a fine sense of the spiritual issues involved in the present struggle that one realizes at once how wrong it is to speak of the defense of "Western civilization" when defining the issues of our day. Certainly any definition which does not include what Tagore believes as against what Noguchi champions could not do justice to the real issues. This debate helps us to understand and to justify the resentment of the Eastern world against our spiritual arrogance as well as our racial pride.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

"The Devil Knows . . ."

LA PART DU DIABLE. By Denis de Rougemont. Brentano's. $1.50.

THE Kingdom of Satan is within you." Most cunningly hidden: Satan's supreme artifice is to deny his own existence. In diabolical doctrine there is no evil for which man should hold himself personally responsible; the fault always lies with some external factor—the endocrine glands, society, or a whole array of pseudo-scientific scapegoats. If there be guilt in man, it is always found in the other fellow—Adolf Hitler, for instance. The devil's most impregnable fortress is our self-righteousness.

Against this loose mass of evasions Denis de Rougemont erects anew the proud doctrine of personal responsibility. There constantly is a choice, and we choose at our peril. Blindness is no excuse; we are blind because we are too cowardly to open our eyes.

This austere law is as ancient as the hills, as contemporary as the latest snare of "expediency." Whoever places a petty idol above the law—class, race, nation, sect, worldly success—is capitulating to Satan.

A sermon? Not quite. For sermons are usually preached at others, and this is a challenge to our inmost selves. It could be subtitled "A Manual for Diplomats." But diplomats—in every field—are not De Rougemont's scapegoats. Diplomats serve the devil only because they are our servants. Evil is within us.

I wish I could convey the strange beauty of this truly great book. There is no form of writing I admire more profoundly than moral philosophy freed from technical jargon and delusive rigor. Such philosophy is a blend of earnestness, poetry, and humor. It embraces books as diverse as "Jonah" and "Zarathustra," men as different as Plato, Pascal, Goethe, Vigny, Carlyle, Unamuno—a family in the spirit that transcends all divisions of ages, languages, or creeds.

I am with De Rougemont at the beginning—the Cosmic Choice—and at the end—the immediate practical decision. The link between the two, however, is not a system, and not even a symbol; it is a myth. So it is presented, very properly, not in scientific or rationalistic terms, but through a blend of lyricism and irony. If De Rougemont's myth were to harden into a dogma, I should fight it tooth and nail; my own favorite myth to explain the nature of evil is totally different.

Lyricism and irony: is not that the perfect romantic formula? Yet De Rougemont's final counsel would be strictly classical. With Pascal he would say, "Let us strive to think accurately." "The devil knows that whenever we call a spade a spade, evil recedes and loses its magic power." Yes, let us repeat after Boileau: "J'appelle un chat un chat, et Rollet un fripon"; and we all know whose name Boileau would insert today.

ALBERT GUERARD

A Study in Contradictions

ALFRED NOBEL: DYNAMITE KING—ARCHITECT OF PEACE. By Herta E. Pauli. L. B. Fischer. $3.

ALFRED NOBEL has been dead nearly fifty years, but his works live on. If the explosives he invented have become obsolete for purposes of war, the great international industrial organization he created, subdivided into national groups, is munitioning both sides in the present war. Meanwhile the peace prize he founded has gone unawarded for four years, and the members of the committee of the Norwegian Storthing, whose task it was to nominate the winner, are either exiles or Nazi prisoners.

As a chemist, Nobel's major achievement was the adaptation for practical purposes of the original work of other men. Nitroglycerine, the foundation of his fortune, was actually the discovery of an Italian professor, Ascanio Sobrero, who, to quote Miss Pauli, was "too kindly a soul for

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developing explosives" and so turned to other studies when he realized the potentialities of the deadly liquid he had produced in his laboratory. Nobel had no such compunctions. Five men, including his youngest brother, were killed as a result of his early experiments. His comment was: "You cannot expect an explosive substance to come into general use without loss of life."

Matching his ruthless search for knowledge was his vigor in exploiting it. Miss Pauli stresses the point that he was much happier in the laboratory than in the counting-house, but I think that she underestimates his share in the organization of his business. Certainly he was not one of those inventors so wrapt in their studies that they lose the monetary fruits thereof. But by the shrewd selection of partners and subordinates he was able to free himself of bothersome details and to remain happily ignorant of some of the manipulations which inevitably attend the creation of an international monopoly. At the bar of history, however, he cannot disclaim responsibility. The entanglement of the French Nobel company in the Panama scandal was primarily the result of the ambitions of his associate Paul Barbe, who, as Nobel had long been aware, had "a conscience which stretches like india rubber."

This excellent new life of Nobel does not pretend to give the reader a complete appreciation of his scientific work, nor does it attempt to unravel the complicated skeins of the monopolistic organizations he founded. It offers, instead, an impressionistic sketch of a fascinating personality, of a man who, away from the explosives to which his life was dedicated, was a shy, neurotic, unhappy, cynical intellectual.

The contradictions in his nature are cleverly developed by Miss Pauli, whose approach is sympathetic but always objective. She brings out the fact that, despite all his pessimism, he was a true creature of the optimistic nineteenth century—a man with a mission to "spread light," believing "that any addition to knowledge was bound to be beneficial in the end." It did not occur to him that there might be a contradiction between his invention and promotion of deadly weapons and his life-long antagonism to war. When, under the influence of the famous pacifist Bertha von Suttner, he began to apply his mind increasingly to the problems of peace, his first thought was to invent a weapon "of such horrible capacity for mass annihilation that thereby wars would become altogether impossible."

Eventually—did he foresee how Hitler would twist this same idea?—he abandoned this mechanical solution of the problem for a monetary one—another idea characteristic of the age of materialism. The final version of his will left his whole fortune to be held in trust, with the annual income to be awarded in prizes "to those persons who during the previous year have rendered the greatest services to mankind." One part was to be given "to the person who has done the most or best work for the brotherhood of nations, the abolition or reduction of standing armies. . . ." The other four parts were assigned to reward outstanding work in physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, and literature.

Not the least interesting pages in this book are those devoted to an analysis of the awards since 1900, but unfortunately a complete list of the prize-winners is omitted. Many of the greatest scientists of our time and some of the greatest

". . . I cannot put out of my mind the importance of its message." —SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE

GENERALS AND GEOGRAPHERS

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"...The book has fascinated me so that I finished it without stopping. The value of the book is not only that of a mere analysis but a guide to victory.... May many read this book. It deserves wide attention."—*Sat. Review of Literature.*

"...a remarkable book.... This is a book that demands and merits thoughtful reading. It should be studied and digested by American and British statesmen."—*The Hartford Times.*

"...an unusually lucid statement of the basic facts about geopolitics.... Mr. Weigert has definitely opened the subject to numerous readers."—*George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College.*

"...an important book and doubly important through being so timely."
—*Vilhjalmur Stefansson.*

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authors have been among those honored. But as Miss Pauli points out, there have been some questionable choices and some unforgivable omissions. A notable example is the passing over of Tolstoy. All too many of the peace prizes have been won by stuffed shirts, but the last selection, Carl von Ossietzky, who died in a concentration camp rather than deny his convictions, made some amends. Let us hope that the next Nobel peace-prize winner, to whom Miss Pauli bravely dedicates her book, will be as worthy.

KEITH HUTCHISON

War—and Peace

A STUDY OF WAR. By Quincy Wright. The University of Chicago Press. Two Volumes. $15.

THE first and final feeling of the reviewer toward Quincy Wright's colossal study of war is obviously awe. Sixteen years of labor by a leading scholar and thinker, assisted by scores of specialized researchers—four parts in forty chapters, each chapter a full treatise in several sections, and all together escorted by a retinue of 45 appendixes in small type—1,500 pages plus 50 of indexes, the large majority of them rising from pedestals of footnotes—two brick-thick tomes, bound and wrapped in the strong colors, purple, gold, and scarlet, of blood and battle—these are some of the externals and figures that impress the onlooker ere the reader takes his place. A quantitative eulogy, however, might sound like a slight were it not presently joined by the statement: first, that Quincy Wright's learning, as we all know, is throughout of superior quality, with only such minor flaws as omniscience alone could avoid in so vast an aggregate of knowledge; second, that his factual science is illumined by a judgment as penetrating as it is wise and human. Plain clearness is the constant asset of his style; yet not seldom we meet a passage enhanced by literary elegance, and a smile of temperate humor enlivens time and again our journey through so serious a landscape.

The abundance of the treatment entails of course its risks. "Wars," we read almost at the outset, "in the broadest sense of the word, have occurred between physical entities, but this study is limited to organic history which began perhaps a billion years ago"—a limitation, if that is the word, of perplexing size. "The history of war attempted in this volume," the author states, with just pride, elsewhere, "covers the struggles of life throughout the world from animals to contemporary world-civilization. It therefore approaches a philosophy of history." Many are the things we learn in this Summa, from the way of life of "the Mesozoic ancestors of lions and tigers," who "were very mild," to the date, 1573, when Poland entered modern civilization; from the genealogical stem of the human race to the dialectical data of the issue whether history is a science or an art; and the more we are offered, the more exacting grows our appetite. Completeness, indeed, in a study of war would include everything that is in heaven and earth; and there is no satisfactory reason why a book of this sort, while granting so ample a room to ants and simians, should omit the lives of the great captains or the history of the Red Cross. Thus, with the longing for totality inevitably frustrated, the encyclopedic wealth may verge on miscellaneous essayism, and the many trees may hide from the doubting traveler the forest.

He will have his due, if he does not make more stock than strictly necessary of the statistical and mathematical material wherewith Quincy Wright props his philosophy of war and peace. Atlases, diagrams, questionnaires, tabulations, remind us occasionally of Eddington's poetic impatience and poetic justice when, in "The Nature of the Physical World," weary of centipede-equations on the generation of waves by wind, he leaps up reciting:

> There are waters blown by changing winds to laughter
> And lit by rich skies . . .

In the "Study of War" there are formulas even of the balance of power, starting with a moderate $R_1 = Sr_1 - (Pr - P_1)$, then in due course of pages to bristle up in a twofold two-line array of symbols duly ending in ciphers. Poetic or unpoetic, the unmathematical reader reacts with the plain conviction that the balance of power won't do. This is, after all, the author's ethico-political conviction, regardless of elusive theorems; neither does his attitude toward the method of the physical sciences, when applied to human history, exceed the boundaries of an open-minded skepticism.

His philosophy of war and peace does not depend on ultimate assumptions about the nature of war and its correlation with the nature of man. A trend of thought which can be traced from Heraclitus down to Nietzsche and fascism makes of war the substance of all being; another trend, represented by founders of high religions or by lay moralists such as Marx or Thorstein Veblen, makes of war an aftermath of original sin or an execrable innovation, due to economic and spiritual enslavement, at the dawn of history. Quincy Wright seems to incline toward the latter view—a more hopeful one, since there are more chances of weaning man from behavior extrinsic to his primal essence than of extirpating characteristics that were inherent in his biological destiny. Whatever the beginnings, however, he neatly sees the ends. Meandering but never disoriented, his purpose—and achievement—is to demonstrate that war, especially in the modern era, has made for dilapidation rather than for the integration of societies, and that the march of our wish and will must head "toward a warless world."

There is profit in implementing with the documentation of this treatise the general but vague notion that wars in the modern era, while tending to lesser frequency (even though "from 1840 to 1940 there were about twenty-six hundred important battles involving European states"), tended also to greater destructiveness. Their causes were manifold, and the prudent scholar does not wish to ascribe primacy to any of them. It would seem, however, hardly arbitrary to contend that the common denominator has been and is the lack of supreme power vested with judgeship above the nations, and that no philosopher ever worded the problem more stringently than Dante did when in the opening sentences of his political manifesto he stated that the goal of human life is perfectibility both in intellect and action, that perfectibility requires peace, and that peace can be enforced only by a unitary authority ruling the world. Quincy Wright's thought is strongly and faithfully international. It is not yet supra-national enough. Like most among the best in our years, he has not stepped resolutely

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enough beyond the concept of Kant as embodied in Wilson. That concept, generous and progressive though it was, had something of the squaring of the circle inasmuch as it proposed a unitary federation of independent nations, a sovereign whole made of sovereign parts. A warless world will not emerge even from a Nazi defeat unless, dismissing all hesitance, we oppose the idea and fact of the world republic to the otherwise ever-recurrent phases of the competition for world empire.

It is this hesitance that accounts for Quincy Wright's reserved accent when writing (p. 256 f.): "The twentieth century appears to be witnessing the supercession of the secular sovereign states by something else. *Exactly what cannot be said.*" Much farther on, in a chapter of fervent humility, he suggests that the task of synthesis and practice is for poets and statesmen rather than for jurists and political scientists. Poets will shape the world myth apt to change the heart of man; statesmen will make the myth into a deed. Thus the concluding pages look somewhat pale in comparison. Of the general directions, however, he is firmly aware; and of contemporary statesmen he writes, generically yet pertinently: "They lack the power to organize the world, but the world will condemn them if their activities are confined to organizing the nations" (p. 1,049). The unrhetorical phrasing adds to the severity of the warning.

Hastier readers may not devote to the "Study of War" as much time and thankful application as this leisurely reviewer did. But many will give it a place of honor among reference books, in so far as it is a book of science. Many more, in so far as it is a book of hope, will find in it an outstanding testimonial to the faith of an age which—not ironically at all—is fighting a planetary war for a planetary peace.

G. A. BORGESE

Eisenstein on the Film

THE FILM SENSE. By Sergei M. Eisenstein. Translated and Edited by Jay Leyda. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

EISENSTEIN'S book on aesthetics has been awaited so long by film students that its appearance is to them an expected satisfaction rather than a surprise. But it will hold many surprises for those—inside as well as outside the movie business—who were unaware that Eisenstein is the cinema's foremost teacher and theorist as well as one of its masterspirits. "The Film Sense" is not a technical handbook or even a consideration of the film *per se* but a broad and catholic survey of the relationships between all the media of art. In the comparatively brief course of his 216 pages the author has recourse to examples from painting, poetry, music, the novel, the short story, theatrical costuming, and Chinese ideographs; the names of Pushkin and Da Vinci occur more frequently than do those of film makers. This insistence upon the unity of art is gratifying not only as a principle but also as evidence of the lively historical sense which increasingly infuses Soviet culture. His investigation of the old theory of "absolute" correspondences between colors, sounds, and ideas is complete and discriminating, and his rejection of that theory is of considerable significance. The rejection is made under the influence of Freud and of mod-

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The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from production equipment to ground values. (See Christian Century, October 7, 1942.) Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toil and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authors." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

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ern anthropology—of science, in short—and throughout the book inherited theories are constantly tested by fact, by concrete example.

The focal point of his discussion is "montage," a term which he did much to establish and which he now seeks to interpret more deeply. "Montage" was originally defined as the most important single act in film composition—namely, the joining of images in such a way that they "explode" into a new concept which conveys more than the sum of the images themselves. This method of composition, which allows the spectator's imagination to participate in the creative work, completes itself in the actual physical editing of the celluloid. It is therefore a classic principle of film theory that the writing of the script and the production itself should look forward toward the moment when the separate images are joined. Acting, staging, and all other film devices become subordinate to the master-device of editing, through which the film realizes its capacity to disregard temporal and spatial relationships and use all the materials of the visual and aural world to develop a theme.

This was the "editing principle" proclaimed as the unique property of the film medium, and it was upon this principle that such masterpieces as "Potemkin" and "Ten Days That Shook the World," were produced. Yet we find Eisenstein stating here as his principal thesis that the juxtaposition of images to create a "third something" is not, after all, a device peculiar to film editing but is to be found in the work of all great artists. Leonardo's notes for a painting of the Deluge are shown to be *sequential* in character, and the painting, if it had been realized, would therefore have been "executed in accordance with features that are characteristic rather of the temporal than of the spatial arts." The present time is a "period in which montage thinking and montage principles [have] become widely current in all the border arts of literature—in the theater, in the film, in photo-montage, and so on." Such insights as these light up the whole aesthetic landscape and start trains of thought which make the reading of "The Film Sense" a lingering pleasure. But Eisenstein concludes from his examples that "there is no inconsistency between the method whereby the poet writes, . . . the method whereby the actor acts his role *within the frame of a single shot,* and that method whereby his actions and whole performance, as well as the actions surrounding him, forming his environment [or the whole material of the film], are made to flash in the hands of the director through the agency of the montage exposition and construction of the entire film." This statement is misleading. In Eisenstein's generalized definition of montage there is indeed no difference in *kind* between the montage methods of the various arts. But the difference in *degree* is so great that it becomes for practical purposes a difference in kind. The montages of theater and film, for example, are not only the whole range of the scale apart; they also conflict when an attempt is made to combine them. In "Cavalcade" two honeymooners stand on the deck of a ship, picturing the future. As they move away from the rail, they reveal a life preserver marked "S.S. Titanic." This simple montage is entirely legitimate in the theater, where all physical disasters must take place "off." But when this scene was transferred bodily to the film version of the play one felt that the medium had been violated; we should have been shown this great disaster as the screen alone can show it—as an actual happening, not a symbol or suggestion. We were not thus shown it because the film's director had surrendered the whole task of exposition to the actors. Eisenstein attempts to meet the danger suggested here by emphasizing the words "within the frame of a single shot," and in theory he is correct; so long as the director edits the single shots, he controls the exposition of the theme and even the meaning of the actor's performance. In practice, however, the actor, far from developing within his art a "montage" in keeping with film editing, tends constantly to revert to the traditional methods of delivering dialogue on the stage. When this happens, the editing is no longer determined by the requirements of the theme but by the length of time needed for an actor to speak his lines; the film becomes a photographed play.

To encourage this trend is far from Eisenstein's intention. But I feel that by emphasizing the resemblances rather than the differences between film montage and the other arts he has contributed to a current confusion concerning the proper methods of the film. In Hollywood since the advent of spoken dialogue, and to some extent in Russia since the production of "Chapayev" (1935), directors have been all too easily content to reproduce the arts of acting and dialogue rather than to *compose* a film in terms of the editing of images. For a classic example of montage it is today necessary to look back to the early Eisenstein or still farther to D. W. Griffith; hence the art of film composition tends more and more to become associated with an archaic art form, the silent film, while the contemporary and aesthetically unjustifiable compromise between stage and screen enjoys the flavor of modernity. That Eisenstein should give the appearance of associating himself with such false progress must arise, in my opinion, from the fact that he has for more than ten years been engaged in a controversy with other Soviet film makers, the issue being whether editing on the one hand or acting and "story" on the other were the controlling factors in film composition. Eisenstein's opponents disliked the "abstraction" of his first films and attributed it to montage, which they thereupon disowned. This abstraction, if such it was, was actually inherent in the themes of those particular films, and it may well be that the present book represents Eisenstein's attempt to clear the confusion between form and content by demonstrating the existence of principles analogous to montage in every art form.

If lack of space compels me to treat Eisenstein's new thesis as a heresy, this is not to say that I consider either the thesis or its source unimportant. On the contrary, both serve to demonstrate the enthusiastic atmosphere in which Soviet film making takes place, and reveal that in the Soviet Union every film is rooted in the history of culture and is consciously planned to express human needs and aspirations. If this statement needs the point of contrast, consider Hollywood and Elstree, where each film is still an isolated commercial venture, and where montage has been debased to mean the "art" of plugging continuity gaps with successive shots of leaves falling from calendars and clock hands twirling round. Now, if ever, is the time to consider the terms of that contrast, and Eisenstein's book is one of the keys to it.

RICHARD GRIFFITH

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IN BRIEF

THE OLD SOUTH. By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

In a volume as readable as it is learned and judicial, Professor Wertenbaker follows his previous book on the Middle Colonies with one on Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. He discusses the national origins of the settlers, the character of the civilizations they established, and the local factors which contributed to the molding of a South that is not and never has been "solid." Education, economics, social history, architecture, all are examined in a documented study which is leisurely without being slow. As far as a layman can discover, errors are limited to details of proofreading. The twelve text figures and forty-three plates are an integral and charming part of the book.

GRAND CANYON. By V. Sackville-West. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

An Englishwoman who has seen her own country through the blitz perhaps finds it difficult to contemplate without bitterness America's lack of experience of the same kind of horror, but a person of Miss Sackville-West's literary standing should have tried to control her unpleasant fantasies. Instead, she has written a revenge story on the theme of what will happen to us over here unless we learn to be "realistic." It is 1945, two years after Britain has been defeated by the Germans and two years after America has signed a Pacific Charter leaving Europe in the status quo of September, 1939; as a result of this deluded appeasement, England is Nazi-dominated and the United States necessarily becomes an armed camp. Presently Germany and Japan combine to give America an air and naval workout that makes the attacks on England in the present war seem mere child's play. This is Miss Sackville-West's political warning; in its own small way, as a message to America, it can only rank in impudence and bad taste with Mr. Luce's famous letter to England. The rest of the novel has to do with a pair of virtuous English refugees, residents of the Grand Canyon Hotel, who, when Colorado is attacked, lead their fellow-guests to safety at the bottom of the canyon, where we follow their idyllic adventures with a certain bewildered interest until we discover that they are all really dead.

DRAMA

"The Three Sisters"

IT IS not very often that the New York drama critic is faced with the ineluctable necessity of passing a clear judgment upon a revived classic either ancient or modern. In nine cases out of ten he can, with some show of reason, remark that certain defects in the production make the whole rather difficult to judge, and he can thus avoid the necessity of disagreeing too violently with anybody. Those who, for instance, find "Hamlet" boring can be told that so, at many moments, did he; those who would indignantly deny that Shakespeare ever nods can be granted that he probably doesn't—when played in a fashion more nearly adequate than Mr. X and his colleagues managed to achieve. And thus it can be maintained that the classics are classic, but that it is just as well not to produce them too frequently.

For once, however, the critic will look in vain for this comfortable out and be compelled to admit that it is hard to imagine a better production of Chekhov's "The Three Sisters" than that which Katharine Cornell is offering at the Barrymore Theater. Driven to absolute desperation, one might, I suppose, take cowardly refuge in muttered allusions to what one saw the Moscow Art Theater do on their home grounds; but short of that there is no escape. Here is a real all-star cast which for once seems to have forgotten that it is anything of the sort and works as a unit for the glory of nothing except the production as a whole; here is a direction—in the hands of Guthrie McClintic—which is both delicate and firm, elaborating a thousand little details without allowing the curiously wavering but never really broken outlines of the whole to be obscured. Miss Cornell, Judith Anderson, and the newcomer Gertrude Musgrove play the three sisters as three distinct individuals who nevertheless never really compete for attention; Ruth Gordon, perhaps quite properly the most flamboyant of the cast, makes Natasha the terrifying little savage that she is. Nor are the chief male roles any less well handled. Tom Powers, Edmund Gwenn, Alexander Knox, and Eric Gresser—this does not yet exhaust the list—are certainly likely to be remembered in their present roles at least as vividly as they are remembered in any they have ever played. Surely, then, we are not likely to have a better opportunity to perceive just what Chekhov's intention was or to decide for ourselves what subtleties and what weaknesses are actually revealed in a work accepted as one of the finest of modern plays.

I shall certainly not attempt in three paragraphs to summarize completely my own opinion, but there are two or three things which may be said in even so small a space. One of them is that Chekhov's method is the result of carrying to a logical extreme something which was, at least until very recently, an almost universal modern tendency—the tendency, I mean, carefully to avoid any appearance of challenging comparison with the major virtues embodied in the classics of other ages and to take refuge in the indirect presentation of the minor moods. It is certainly not true, as is so often said, either that "The Three Sisters" has no plot or that nothing happens in it. A mere summary of the sensational revolutions in the lives of its characters would, I wager, require more space than a summary of similar events in "Othello." But the impression that nothing happens is deliberately created by Chekhov's inversion of the normal method of story-telling, as the result of which all major events either take place off stage or are hastily represented as though they were minor incidents, while the attention is kept focused upon the elaborately detailed representation of the trivialities of conversation or the monotonous routine of lives which seem to be stagnating but are actually plunging to tragedy.

One justification of this method is, of course, that it is in harmony with the character of the persons who are represented. They are drifters and dreamers who are far more vividly aware of their vague philosophizings, their self-consciously aesthetic sensations, and, above all, their boredom than they are of the major tragedies which come upon them when they are thinking of something else. And of course it is just Chekhov's criticism of them that all this is so. But he would not really have them otherwise, for he would not really understand them if they were.

In the hands of any but one kind of master the method would be intolerable and the characters too insignificant to be endured. In Chekhov's hands the whole takes on a certain fascination, and the abnormal emphasis enables him always to escape any of that effect of banality which cannot be avoided when the big scene is writ big by a man not himself really big enough to write it. But clever and charming and sad as the play may be and fine as the present production is,

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one may, I think, just as well confess that there is a real sense in which Chekhov, like most modern writers, is minor, and that however grateful we may be for his virtues we would gladly, if we could, exchange them for major ones. No one who cares for the modern theater should miss this production. Nevertheless, passion is better than wistful charm, strong people are more interesting than weak ones, and an author who has some kind of faith in human nature is better than one who, however regretfully, gives it up. Moreover, a writer who can successfully handle a story by the normal method is even more impressive than one who can escape bathos and banality only by inverting it. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

In spite of some distressing faults of structure and several unconvincing situations, "The Willow and I," by John Patrick (Windsor Theater), manages to be a moving and absorbing play. The plot is not original, and the author throws together such ingredients as melodrama, psychological analysis, Victorian sentiment, and comic effects in reckless disregard of consistency of tone. But the total effect is better than the elements that produce it. For this the actors deserve much credit—particularly Barbara O'Neil and Martha Scott, who play, respectively, the domineering, grasping younger sister and the older one whose retreat from reality and from the need of fighting for her emotional rights creates the situation around which the play is built. F. K.

ART

1942-43 ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ART. At the Whitney Museum, until January 6.

ARTISTS FOR VICTORY. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, until February 22.

For the tenth time the Whitney Annual gives us a chance to see how competently and yet how badly most of our accepted artists paint, draw, and carve. The Annual is aided this year in its nefarious purpose by a grandiose "Artists for Victory" show at the Metropolitan, with six times as many items. Competent, amazingly so, is most of the work shown at the two places. These second-hand Renoirs, Cézannes, Vlamincks, Eakinses, Winslow Homers, Maillols, Rodins, these archaizers, these academicists and eclectics have ascertained quite well—up to a point—what made yesterday's art successful, and they rehearse the success with greater dexterity than its initiators. If you like art passionately enough and have the endurance, you can get pleasure from both exhibitions. Comparatively few single pictures or pieces of sculpture are as bad as is either show as a whole. (When enough similar things are added together a new quality is produced which was only latent in each before that; sometimes this new quality is a gain, sometimes, as in this case, a loss: indicating that the trouble with our *accepted* contemporary art is the lack of an invigorating common impulse.) But no matter how well these artists paint and model, they do not *affect* us enough.

Moving art in any age is that which wins new experience for human beings. Such conquest arouses the sensation of increased power we get from the work of Third Dynasty Egyptian and archaic Greek sculptors, from Giotto, Veronese, and Cézanne. They were the first to discover and possess certain kinds of experience through their mediums, and this sense of firstness keeps their art forever fresh. But the artists at the Whitney and the Metropolitan are satisfied to rework old areas, and are merely pleasing at their best, seldom moving. They try for the new only by means of startling subject matter or technical stunts—guaranteed to impress art juries made up of curators seeking to prove they are not academic.

The Metropolitan is more coy in its selection and hanging of "radical" art, and it has no four or five works as good as the best four or five at the Whitney, but it has staged a better show on the whole, if only because it gives the preponderance to landscapes and still lifes. For American painters, and to a less degree most painters since Modigliani, can no longer handle portraits and figures with true feeling. Society does not circulate an adequate notion of the human personality to which they can refer. They try to make up for this by over-expressing whatever half-baked or stereotyped conceptions they themselves happen to have, and without thinking about the problem very much. The result, which may be seen at the Whitney, is either fulsome or banal. Not to mention the horrors of the sculpture section. (The sculptors take refuge from the problem by going in for animals, melodrama, and academicism.) Nevertheless, there are some good things among the abstract paintings and sculpture at the Whitney—by Roszak, David Smith, Harari, Greene, Tomlin, Knaths; among the landscapes—by Heliker, Fortess; and among the water colors—still lifes and landscapes by Berlandina, Feininger, Marin, and Weber. But most of this work is still quite repetitive. The same can be said of the good items at the Metropolitan. The one exception there is a water color by Steve Wheeler which shows the successful digestion of Klee's influence and is the most striking piece of work in the exhibition, handicapped though it is by one of those whimsy titles that are the curse of Klee's legacy: "Man with Short Haircut." Two landscapists were discoveries to me: William Sommerfeld and Walter Stuempfig, Jr., whose work gives modest but very substantial pleasure. There is a fine "Mining Town" by Arnold Blanch, and if evidence is wanted for my contention as to the incapacity of contemporary painting to handle the human being, compare this picture with the same artist's "This Is a People's War," probably the worst painting in the place. Helen Rátkai's flower piece also is worth noticing.

The awarding of the prizes which the Metropolitan made available is a scandal, at least in the oil paintings and the sculpture. The medal for the best painting in the whole exhibition was presented to a carefully manipulated piece of tripe, by Ivan Albright, which is a vertical canvas about eight feet high, showing a wormy lavender-dark door with a wreath in its center and a woman's hand on the jamb, everything iridescent with decay, everything confected and concocted, everything the painter had in the way of time, diligence, and bad taste thrown in. The jury was seduced, I imagine, by size, by subject, and by the rhythmic mottlings and even patina that hold the picture together. The first money prize was given to a big wheezing machine of a landscape by Curry which will end up one day in a museum's cellar or a Roadside Rest. It has, however, its heavy charm. Of the prizes for oils, the only ones deserved were a fifth to Bohrod's aqueous, tricky "Reflections in a Shop Window," a third to Feininger's "A Church," and perhaps a sixth to a landscape by Evergood. The water-color section at the Metropolitan is quieter and stronger than any other—as a friend says, you can't do as much damage in water color, even if you try. The prints are not too awful either. Nor is the sculpture quite as bad as that at the Whitney gave reason to fear. A fourth prize to Frances Lamont's spiraling metal "Gallic

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Cock" was well earned, and so, I suppose, was Calder's fourth, though he has done better work. Peter Dalton's "Seated Figure" and Rhys Caparn's "Johannes Steel" should have got prizes, but they must have been too staid for the live-wire jury.

The important question is whether contemporary American art is as unenterprising as these two shows make it out to be. I think not.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

WE MAY regret not being able to hear some of the legendary musicians of the past; but right now we are able to hear musicians who will be legendary some day; and some of those musicians of the past might not be very impressive today. I did hear Ysaye, but when I was not old enough to know good and bad in performance; and about a year ago I happened to hear an old recording of an Ysaye performance which astonished me by its stylistic vulgarities. In my youth the great orchestra was the Boston Symphony conducted by Muck, which I heard twice in 1917; the great quartet was the Kneisel, which I merely heard about. Years later I heard recordings of the Boston Symphony under Muck which confirmed my recollection of its extraordinary sound and precision, and superb performances conducted by Muck in Europe; but on the other hand, after one of the Budapest Quartet's Beethoven concerts at the Y. M. H. A. a few years ago I asked someone who had heard the Kneisels about their playing, and he was silent a few moments before he said: "Don't ask me about them," and was silent again before he exploded: "Those wooden Indians!" The Flonzaleys, who followed the Kneisels, were anything but wooden Indians; but today we hear in a performance of the Budapest Quartet—in the beauty of the four strands of sound, their musical inflection, their integrated progression, their combined effect as a statement of the work—something that is phenomenal, unique in its province, like the dancing of Markova, an orchestral performance of Toscanini.

The recent occasions for marveling at the Budapest Quartet's performances have included the Sunday morning broadcasts of C. B. S., the first two concerts of the Y. M. H. A.'s annual series, and two concerts of the New Friends of Music. The New Friends series this year has offered several of Bach's sonatas and partitas for unaccompanied violin and cello, of which I have skipped the dull ones but heard the E major, the one with the superb Prelude, which Szigeti played magnificently, and the D minor, the one with the great Chaconne, which Huberman played well, though without the sustained intensity of Szigeti's wonderful performance at the Y. M. H. A. There have been other dull pieces of Bach that I have skipped; and at the last pre-Christmas concert, at which Klemperer was to have conducted two cantatas, he conducted instead sensitively modeled chamber-music-scale performances of the Brandenburg Concerto No. 6, the fine D minor Concerto for two violins, and the charming B minor Suite for flute and strings. There have been a few works of Schumann that I have also skipped; and a number of quartets by Haydn, a few played by the Budapest Quartet, others by the scratchy Gordon Quartet and dull Musical Art Quartet, and still others by the Coolidge Quartet. This group plays with good tone, precision, finish, spirit, taste; but catching the end of one of its Sunday morning C. B. S. broadcasts I was struck by the stiffness of its performance of the finale of Schubert's Quartet Op. 29, after the relaxed plasticity of the Budapest Quartet's recent performance at the Y. M. H. A.

We cannot hear the orchestral performances of Nikisch, of Mahler; but we can still hear those of Toscanini. After some of the comments on what I have written about him—for example, the accusation that I have fallen for the Toscanini ballyhoo—I think it well to mention that while my experience of his conducting begins as far back as a performance of "Madame Butterfly" in 1914, when I was better able to appreciate Farrar's looks than Toscanini's musicality, my present estimate of his work is a very recent one. I myself protested against the ballyhoo during his first years with the New York Philharmonic—not that I did not hear the beautiful sonorities, contours, and textures, but that I thought Mengelberg's shaping of the sound-time continuum produced more effective statements of Beethoven and Brahms; as late as 1933, when I had learned to dislike Mengelberg's over-emphatic plastic distortion, I wrote that Toscanini produced beautiful sounds but the same beautiful sounds for all music, whereas Koussevitzky gave the right character to the music of each composer—not merely of Tchaikovsky but of Beethoven and Brahms; and only in the years since then have I come to find Koussevitzky's over-emphatic distortion of Beethoven, Brahms, and Tchaikovsky impossible to listen to, and Toscanini's statements of these composers' works the most deeply satisfying. Looking back I can see what has happened is that I have learned to appreciate and to require plastic economy and subtlety in performance; and that I have learned by hearing them long enough—in other words, by my own experience. I have not, I might add, engaged in vast, cloudy conceptual constructions of the history of culture that have brought me to a conclusion about the relation of Toscanini's conducting to the *Zeitgeist* of this century; I have been concerned entirely with the works of music that have been important to me, and have reached a conclusion about the effectiveness of these works as Toscanini has stated them.

Listening to his recent broadcast of Brahms's Third Symphony and recalling his first performances of this symphony many years ago, I was aware that in some degree he too had changed since then—that his performances of Brahms and Beethoven have acquired the breadth and weight they did not have at first. On the other hand there is his performance of Mozart's G minor Symphony, which I had always found excessively impassioned, and in the case of the Victor performance even tumultuous and ferocious: listening to the work as he conducted it recently with the Philadelphia Orchestra in Philadelphia and New York, I found the statement marvelous—powerful, impassioned, but without excess; going back to the Victor records and to records of the broadcast of the last Sunday afternoon concert with the New York Philharmonic in 1936, I was surprised to hear the same tempi and style, and to find the harshness of the Victor performance to be in its recorded sound. (The tempi of the first movement and the finale were the *Allegro molto* and *Allegro assai* which Mozart prescribes; the second movement was taken much faster than the prescribed *Andante,* but demonstrated that any pace that Toscanini adopts is one in which he can make the music effective.) Going after this to Beecham's recorded performance, which I had thought excellent, I found the first movement pallid, with the opening phrases made trivial by their jaunty staccato conclusions.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

French Government Needed

Dear Sirs: In the heat of the controversy aroused by the "Darlan affair" the most urgent phase of the present French situation has been overlooked. It is the need for the speedy mobilization of French man-power and resources for the common struggle against the Axis.

The average Frenchman is a legalistic creature. He will not fight wholeheartedly in this war until a French government orders him to do so. In defeat he sticks desperately even to the shadow of a French state. More than Pétain's personal popularity, this state of mind was responsible for the comparative prestige that was enjoyed by the Vichy government.

The Allies have not made rational use of this psychology, and their present policies are particularly unfortunate. Instead of creating a single government which shall represent in the eyes of the average Frenchman the idea of French sovereignty, they split that sovereignty three ways—the Fighting French in London, Darlan in Algiers, Robert in Martinique.

Roosevelt's promise that "the future French government will be established . . . by the French people themselves after they have been set free by the victory of the United Nations" is not sufficient to arouse French enthusiasm for immediate participation in the war. It is interpreted as becoming valid only after the Nazis have been driven across the Rhine. Such an interpretation postpones the full participation of the French people in the war till the time when such participation will be hardly necessary.

The ideal way of setting up a French government now would be to call on French citizens in all the liberated territories to elect a provisional parliament in accordance with the election laws of the republic. If this solution is not practical under the circumstances, the best substitute would be to call on all members of the Chamber and Senate duly elected at the last general election to form a National Assembly in Algiers. Eventually this body could be strengthened by including the mayors of French cities freed from Nazi occupation or Vichy domination, the heads of larger native tribes, etc. With present means of communication, such an assembly, representing French territories throughout the world, could be called in less than a month.

In normal circumstances such a provisional parliament should be called by the Free French. To spare, however, the susceptibilities of certain French "leaders" and of their friends in Washington, this task could be intrusted to a High Commissioner of the United Nations, who would step down after the National Assembly was duly constituted. My candidate for this job would be Field Marshal Smuts of South Africa. In case he is not available, the second best choice would be some prominent member of one of the governments-in-exile who could not be suspected of imperialistic intentions.

The main tasks of the National Assembly would be: (1) to declare the armistice of June, 1940, legally void because of its repeated violation by the Nazis; (2) to proclaim French reentrance into the war; (3) to reaffirm the French Republic, its constitution and laws, and to declare null and void all "laws" issued since June, 1940, without parliamentary sanction; (4) to form a French government for the conduct of the war and the administration of all freed territories. A. REVUSKY

Yonkers, N. Y., December 16

That "Second Party"

Dear Sirs: Murray Gross, in *The Nation* of December 5, rediscovered a fact rather well known half a century ago: namely, that our so-called "two-party" system is in fact a one-party system with two branches, the "ins" and the "outs," and that "every major reform movement that has swept this country in the past had its origin in a third party." The Republican Party of 1856 was such a party, as were the People's ("Populist") Party of 1892 and the unofficial "New Deal" party of 1932.

I agree with Mr. Gross that "we need a party that will take the tenets of the New Deal and broaden them out and apply them," but the "Bull Moose" episode of 1912 was probably the last rapid assemblage of a third party that will be possible. Even then many of the states had laws governing the organization and continued life of new parties which made their creation difficult. And the trend of legislation is to make new parties practically impossible.

For example, here in Nebraska the proposed new party must hold a state convention of at least 1,000 electors who must sign a "roll" in the presence of a watcher from the Secretary of State's office; and it must poll 5 per cent of the total vote in order to remain an officially recognized party. Several such parties have been attempted and all have failed to retain a place on the ballot.

Provision is made, however, for the nomination of "independent" candidates by petition—the method by which Senator George W. Norris was elected in 1936, when he had the indorsement of the Democratic committees, and defeated in 1942, when indorsement was withheld, to the disgrace of Nebraska.

Some years ago the La Follettes were for a time busy with a Progressive Party, but outside of Wisconsin it does not seem to have made much progress. The fact is, a successful new party must have workers down at the "grass roots" in addition to eloquent and intelligent leaders; and finding and commissioning these "grass-roots" workers is no child's task.

CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE

Lincoln, Neb., December 17

Interpret or Amend?

Dear Sirs: In his review of my book "A New Constitution Now," Professor Corwin seems to accuse me of the "naive" belief that the Constitution ought not to be interpreted. This view would indeed be naive if I held it. I have merely suggested, however, that interpretation be confined within reasonable limits.

Mr. Corwin seems to me to be among those who would stretch the function of "interpretation" far beyond its reasonable scope. I recommend in my book that the Constitution should be amended so that treaties may be ratified by a majority vote of both House and Senate instead of, as the Constitution at present prescribes, by a two-thirds' vote of the Senate. Mr. Corwin, citing a joint resolution of June, 1934, and "certain recent decisions of the court," blandly suggests that we can make this change by "interpretation" rather than by amendment. I can only take this to mean that when Mr. Corwin speaks of "interpreting" the Constitution he really means changing it. I hope I shall not

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be regarded as too naive if I think such a process essentially dishonest. If, under the doctrine of interpretation, federal officials can say that a two-thirds' vote of the Senate means only a majority vote of the Senate, why cannot they just as easily start interpreting away the Bill of Rights? Under so loose a doctrine of "interpretation," in short, what is the point in having a written constitution at all?

If we are going to change the Constitution, then we should know that that is what we are doing. We should change it in the direction in which the majority of the American people wish it to be changed, not in the direction in which merely some particular minority group wishes it to be changed. There is only one way to make sure that the American people wish or accept a change: that is to submit it to them frankly in the form of a proposed amendment. And it is because frank amendment has become so necessary that it is so important to make the method of amending the Constitution more democratic, and far less cumbersome and dilatory than it is today. HENRY HAZLITT

New York, December 7

Dear Sirs: I read Mr. Hazlitt's letter with interest. I entirely agree that interpretation ought to be confined "within reasonable limits," but what are reasonable limits will necessarily vary with circumstances. Thus I think that the "interpretation" by which the recently imposed $25,000 salary limit purports to be derived from the Anti-Inflation Act of October 2 is absurd and dishonest. On the other hand, the practice of "executive agreements," whereby the Senate's participation in treaty-making has become today seriously undermined, is of long, slow development, having begun as far back as 1792. And would Mr. Hazlitt say that the suppression of freedom of choice on the part of Presidential Electors was accomplished dishonestly?

"If we are going to change the Constitution," says Mr. Hazlitt, "then we should know that that is what we are doing." I answer that it is even better to have some inkling as to what the practical effect of a suggested change is likely to be. Interpretation is a method of trial and error. Its cumulative effect in the case of a long-standing law like the Constitution can be great, but each step of it will have been more or less tested by practice. Amendment, on the contrary, is, or can be, a leap in the dark, a good part of which may have to be retraced by the aid of interpretation, or more precipitately by another amendment.

Besides, I do not like to see a man ordinarily as knowing as Mr. Hazlitt lend sanction to the question-begging argument that is embodied in his word "candid." The opponents of the New Deal systematically argued that way. "Why not be candid," they asked, "and admit that the New Deal is unconstitutional?" When that was the very point at issue. Subsequently the New Deal has been squared with the Constitution by interpretations of that document which have back of them at least as sound history and logic as the opposing interpretations had. EDWARD S. CORWIN

Princeton, N. J., December 14

"What Goes On Here?"

Dear Sirs: I must commend your paper for its unmitigated denunciation of the Darlan affair. Certainly, no politically conscious person accepts the statement put out by the government, that is, that General Eisenhower alone was responsible. With Washington less than a second away by wireless, a political decision of such magnitude was never made by the General alone. Nor am I convinced that our State Department was solely responsible. It smells too much like the Non-Intervention Committee during the Spanish war.

England's Foreign Office has been behind every revival of reaction in Europe since 1918, from the Italian, Greek, and Portuguese instances to the German and Spanish. In the Spanish case, it used France as its cat's-paw; today it uses our too willing State Department. Just as Britain recognized the Loyalist regime in Spain and at the same time furthered Franco's aims, so it now accepts General de Gaulle while setting up Darlan. In both cases the common people would never have swallowed an open espousal of fascism, and it is the salutary reaction of these British masses, more than that of Americans, that may determine Darlan's fall. Yet, if we are not careful, his successor may be just as reactionary.

These past and present maneuverings force one to ask with the *Christian Century* (December 9), "What goes on here? First we pick a fascist collaborator with Germany to administer that part of France which we have 'liberated.' Now we give a Hapsburg pretender to a no longer extant Central European throne an approving pat on the back. Is the next step to be a Hohenzollern restoration in Germany?"

While we are berating Hitler's Quislings, we ourselves create them. And as Professor Salvemini said, "they may even be chosen as post-war dictators for their own countries."

Again I ask, "What goes on here?" Is this the Four Freedoms, is this a peoples' war? S. E. GARNER

Baltimore, Md., December 11

No Work for Older Women

Dear Sirs: When I inquired about shipyard jobs at the employment office I was advised to try elsewhere. The many young girls working for Mr. Kaiser do not care to work with older women.

I find the mail-order houses and the department stores advertising for part-time helpers. But their personnel offices ask the business schools to send them only women under forty.

Employers limit the ages of help to the twenty-to-forty group in their classified help-wanted columns and their requests to the employment services. A few are willing to risk a woman of forty-five as a worker.

The Oregon *Journal* recently carried an editorial headed Jobs for Women of Sixty. It was occasioned by the plight of a widow of ability who could not find employment. Rural schools now accept former teachers. But libraries make no effort to place their own graduates over thirty.

I know a French teacher, a musician, a librarian, a social worker now living on slender savings. The curtailment of cultural activities and the closing of some schools sent them to the ranks of the unemployed. Apparently no imaginative planning has included the older women. Employment offices tend to think of them in terms of mothers' helpers.

Many older women would like to be a part of the common effort, but while a busy nation cries for labor they still find themselves considered waste material. In the enrolment of woman-power will such problems be considered? Women of ability hope so.

HELEN RUTH MONTAGUE

Portland, Ore., November 30

The Republican Swing

Dear Sirs: I think the anti-Administration newspapers that were elated at the Republican Party's success in the election are going to be disappointed if they think that added Republican representation will result in stronger prosecution of the war. I refer, of course, to

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those newspapers which really desire a stronger hand, not to the ones which are at heart appeasers and defeatists.

I think that the Republican success was really a reversion to a "pre-war mentality." The Republican Party is synonymous in the minds of millions with the "keep-us-out-of-war" movements and by the same token will be expected by the millions who recently voted for it to get us out of war by hook or crook. In other words, a great many voters would like again to open the entire war debate, Pearl Harbor notwithstanding.

I think that millions of people voted Republican as a way of showing their blind, pent-up anger because their sons or husbands were sent into the armed forces or will be inducted very soon. How else can you interpret the fact that the greatest Republican inroads were in those states which contributed the greatest number of soldiers and sailors? To my mind the huge Republican swing was purely a manifestation of the "continued blindness" of a great many of our people. I hope I am wrong.

EDWARD D. TODD

New York, November 13

Willkie as Liberal Leader

Dear Sirs: I worked for Roosevelt in his various campaigns and have always championed the New Deal. But I am now forced to admit that the liberal initiative has passed from Roosevelt to Willkie.

Willkie is our greatest liberal today, greatest because he sees things most clearly, has first-hand information of world conditions, and is big enough not to be afraid.

Roosevelt is so closely tied in with Churchill and the British Tories that he has lost his position as liberal leader of the world. He keeps strangely silent on the British Tory fumings that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to Asia or British possessions, while Willkie challenges these fumings.

ROLAND D. SAWYER

Ware, Mass., December 15

Pity the Washington Worker

Dear Sirs: Apropos the article Pity the Federal Worker in *The Nation* of December 12, which was very timely and interesting, I can add more ways in which he is to be pitied. The landlady-tenant situation in Washington is deplorable. Most of the low-paid employees ($1,440 per year) pay approximately one week's salary for their monthly rent. In return they have no privileges and can register no complaints. Woe to the roomer who lets one drop of water fall on the bathroom floor! The prices in restaurants are exorbitant, and the portions are so small that it will be necessary soon to invest additional money in a microscope in order to find the food on one's plate.

No wonder there is a great turnover in the government! Surely something can be done to improve these conditions before there is a mass exodus from Washington. FLORENCE BROWN

Washington, D. C., December 12

An Ugly Situation

Dear Sirs: Joseph Julian's article Jim Crow Goes Abroad in your issue of December 5 reveals a situation which is both unwholesome and unholy, whether viewed as American military strategy or as a forecast of post-war race relations. It should do much to counteract recent attempts to gloss over this ugly spectacle. HAROLD T. PINKETT

Washington, D. C., December 18

Arrest of Pablo Casals

Dear Sirs: I am taking the liberty of addressing you in behalf of one of the world's supreme artists, Pablo Casals, the great Spanish 'cellist.

Musical America has just informed its readers that according to an Associated Press dispatch from Mexico, dated November 18, Casals was recently arrested in German-dominated unoccupied France and turned over to the Spanish authorities. Mr. Casals had fled to France after the fall of the Spanish republic. Though apparently he never engaged in current political activities—at least in any such degree as would justify his being a political prisoner—he supported the legal Spanish government, and his liberal convictions led to his flight from Spain to France.

Every influence should be brought to bear in his behalf. He might be executed or sent to a concentration camp. It is known that he has been in poor health, and close confinement might cause his death. All the world recognizes his artistry. Kreisler once called him "the greatest master of the bow."

As chairman of the former Los Angeles branch of the Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, I urge you to try to secure his release.

LOUIS KAUFMAN

West Los Angeles, Cal., December 16

Four Freedoms Day

Dear Sirs: January 6 will mark the second anniversary of President Roosevelt's message to Congress in which he heralded the Four Freedoms: of speech, of worship, from want, from fear.

It is my conviction that January 6 should be permanently set aside as Four Freedoms Day, to be celebrated in time as a global holiday. The whole world has new hope because of the vision of the Four Freedoms. This vision must not perish; it must gain new vitality. A Four Freedoms Day could serve as excellent ideological propaganda for the cause of the democracies of the world and would be a guaranty of their determination to establish those freedoms. FREDERICK KETTNER

New York, December 22

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